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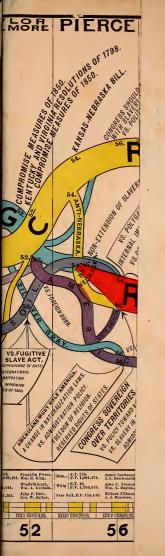
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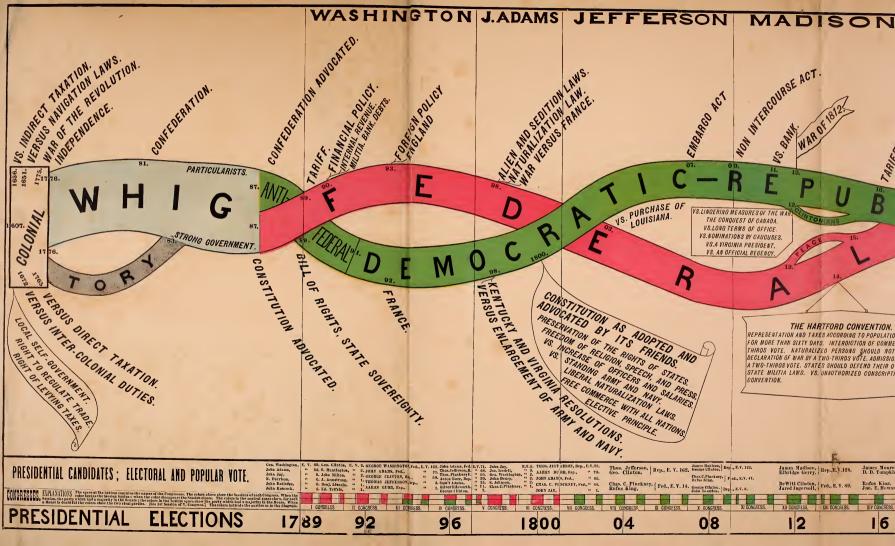
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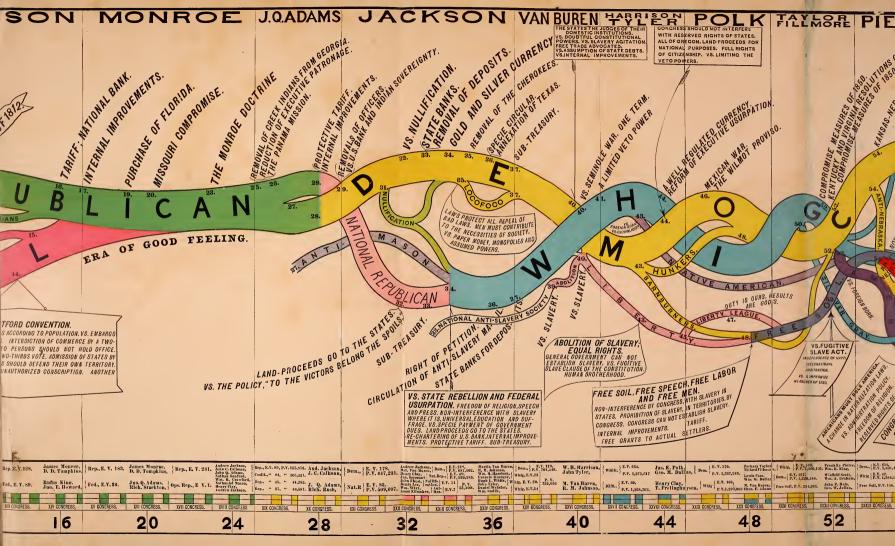
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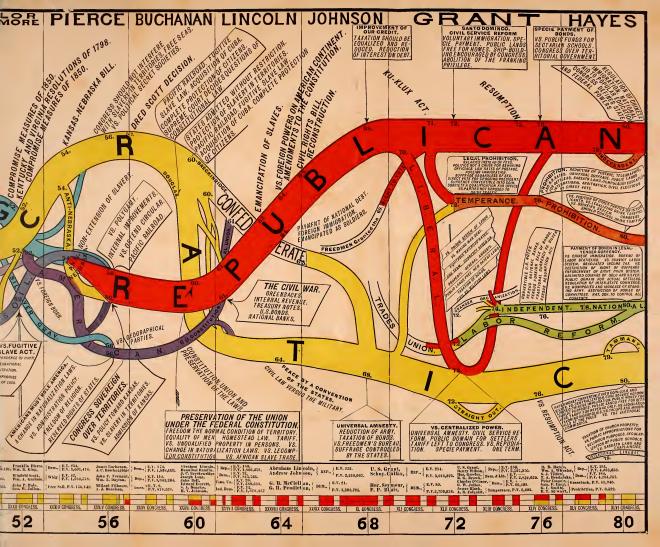
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CONSPECTUS

OF

THE HISTORY OF

POLITICAL PARTIES

AND THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

BY WALTER R. HOUGHTON, A. M.,

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

GRANGER, DAVIS & CO., OWNERS AND PUBLISHERS.

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PREFATORY.

There is no intelligent man in the country who has not frequently felt himself at a loss for particulars of political information which no single memory could supply, and which could be collected only by assiduous and protracted search through old files of newspapers, political documents, or congressional records. Even a correct general knowledge of political history needs a constant supplement of details of dates, succession of politices, condition of parties, cabinets, judges, conventions, platforms, popular and electoral votes, partisan aspects of Congress, revenues and expenses, and the like; and there is no repertory of such information extant. To say that it is "a long felt want" is to give a very generally misused phrase a very exact application. A single conspicuous illustration will enforce a universal individual experience. The late Vice-President Henry Wilson was a more than usually well informed politician, and what he could not readily find in his memory it would be idle to look for in another; but even he, in his "History of Slavery," says that the ratification of the amendment of the national constitution abolishing slavery was proclaimed by President Lincoln, in December, 1865, when he had been in his grawe more than half a year. Exactness of knowledge is an indispensable element of argument, and the politician and party orator, of whatever note or ability, must either prepare for a campaign by long and careful study of history through which the facts he needs are loosely diffused, or find his power cramped by inadequate or inaccurate knowledge. To him, and to all men intelligent enough to take a rational interest in the welfare of the country, a complete and thoroughly systematized scheme of political and party history must, without any exaggeration, "fill a long felt want."

The work here presented, "An Historical Conspectus of the Political Parties and the Federal Government," by Prof.
Howeverors, is the first attempt ever made in this country to construct such a repertory of political information as will furnish
at a glance any important act of national administration or party changes, opinions or conduct, from the first election of
Washington to the last national convention. It is confidently believed that it is as complete, exact, and perfectly methodized
as such a work can be made within the compass that will enable the cost to come within the reach of all classes of citizens.
Though not encyclopædic in form, it is in fact, and really presents its information in a more accessible shape than any other
that could be devised.

The charts present the general course and leading events of governmental and party history in one view, much as the map of a river presents its general direction and its various windings, its tributaries, towns, Islands and rapids at one view. In one, the different parties are designated by different colors, and their ascendency or depression by the position of the colored bands above or below a central line, and the duration of each condition by the length of the colored curves, while at exactly the proper distances to fit the lapse of time, are arranged the events, policies, and prominent issues in their order. In the other, the dates, duration of administration, cabinet officers, judges, etc., are presented by a different but equally ingenious arrangement. The two are the political history of the country put under the eye in a well ordered and complete array.

Combined with the charts, and supplementing their general record, are carefully arranged collections of all details that can be summarized, with all the platforms of all parties in full, time, place and date, from the earliest to the last; tables of revenues and expenses, of sources of revenue and purposes of expenditures, and of the increase and decrease of the public debt every year from 1791; condensed sketches of the leading events and acts of every administration; the houses of Congress in their party aspects, their sessions, officers, and strength of parties.

The ingenious arrangement of the work will commend itself equally by its simplicity, completeness, and comprehensiveness. Everything needed is there, and everything in its exact place, both in relation to time, party organization, and administrative history. Whenever any fact is wanted, and either its date or party connection is known, it can be instantly found, and when found it will be seen in connection with everything relating to it. If it be desired to ascertain what were the principal features of any administration, they will all be discovered concisely and clearly stated in their proper place in the general arrangement. If any prominent political event be known, but it is desired to locate its time the administration at that time, a minute's survey of the synoptical sketches of each administration will show it, with the events that preceded and

i----

followed it. If a politician wants to know whether an opposing party has changed ground, he will find every authorized declaration of opinions and politics ready at hand. If he desires to know the status of parties in Congress at any given time he can find it as easily as a word in a dictionary. In short, not to multiply illustrations, the work will be found to be a perfect "hand-book" of political history, as handy as a cyclopædia, and as complete within its province.

In the production of this work, we may say, in conclusion, Professor HOUGHTON has tried, with striking success, to condense all the facts of the political history of the country, and we are confident has accomplished a work of reference, the general diffusion of which will greatly improve the popular knowledge of an indispensable portion of general history. An intelligent and close examination will find it exhaustive in detail, concise and perspicuous in statement, crowded but never confused with facts, and so admirably methodized that its references can be found with as much facility as the contents of a cyclopedia.

Professor Hovoiiton has visited different cities, to explore great libraries for the proper records to substantiate certain facts and events, to remove doubts, and to clear up apocryphal or erroneous statements made by less careful authors; in fact, he has dup right down to the bottom facts, in order to make it an encyclopadical work of incontestable authenticity, and neither time nor toil has been permitted to interpose to prevent this consummation. Every subject of this work has received his undivided attention, closest scrutiny, and discriminating thought. He has assumed nothing, and taken nothing for granted; and his scrupalous accuracy in the compilation of this "Historical Conspectus of the Political Parties and the Pederal Government" will make it an "authority amongst authorities," and it will be accepted as such by the American Scholar. Statistician, and Statesman.

GRANGER, DAVIS & CO.,

Publishers.

Indianapolis, Indiana.

DESCRIPTIVE.

The design of this work is to present the ontlines of American political and governmental history, from Colonial days to the present time. For this purpose, two folding charts, a series of political and fiscal maps and plates, historical articles and tables, and party platforms are employed.

In the front and at the back of the "Conspectns" will be found the two following charts spoken of. The one in front we will call.

THE POLITICAL DIAGRAM.

In this chart, the outline history of the parties is shown by colored streams, represented as flowing from the left to the right. The name of a political organization appears upon the color which designates the party. When the history of a party begins, the color begins; when its history closes, the color disappears. After each name the word party is understood. The dates at the extremities of a color mark the beginning and the close of the history of a party; for instance, the old Whig party began in 1776, and closed in 1787. That out of which a party was organized and that into which it merged are readily seen by inspection. Take, for example, the Tory party, which sprang from colonial sentiment, and, in 1783, merged into the Whig party. The origin of the Federal and Anti-Federal parties is prominently shown. The words proceeding from the stream for a party represent the issues of that party. The issue is located at the date when the party began advocating it; for instance, the Constitution in 1787 was advocated by the Federal party. In 1791, the Anti-Federal party was called the Democratic-Republican party. When a party is in power, it appears above the streams for the other parties. The Federal party was in power from the beginning of Washington's administration till the heginning of Jefferson's. In 1801, the Democratic-Republican party obtained control of the government. In Monroe's administration, the Federal party, having been overborne and conquered in several Presidential campaigns, ceased to maintain itself as a separate political organization, and melted away, the major portion of its membership going into the Democratic-Republican party; then occurred the "Era of Good Feeling."

The mysterions disappearance of William Morgan, a New York state freemason, in September, 1826, and the excitement arising therefrom, resulted, in 1827, in the formation of a political organization, known in history as the Anti-Masonic party.

In 1828, the supporters of John Quincy Adams separated themselves from the Democratic-Republican party, and styled themselves the National Republican party. The supporters of Andrew Jackson, the same year, dropped the latter part of their former party-title, and became then and afterwards known as the Democratic party.

In 1831, a schism occurred in the Democratic party, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, the representative and champion of "states-rights" sentiment, which had its origin in South Carolina; this faction received the name of the Nullification party.

The opponents of President Jackson and his administration combined, in the year 1834, as a political organization, to which was given the name of the Whig party; the National Republican party was, naturally, the main constituent of this new organization, but it received large accessions from the Anti-Masonic and Nullification parties, and many adherents from the Democratic party itself.

In 1823, the National Anti-Slavery Society was formed; in 1830, a portion of the membership of that society gave that organization a political form, and became distinguished as the "Garrisonians" or Abolition party. The following year (1840), a constitutional anti-slavery party, styled the Liberty party, was formed, into which most of the Abolitionists entered. With change of name, by an offshoto called the Liberty League, in 1845, and joined by the Free-Soil Democrats of New York, styled "Barnburners," these several anti-slavery parties, in 1848, were called the Free-Soil party.

In 1848, also, the New York division of the Democratic party, which had borne the name of "Hunkers" from 1843, dropped that distinguishing title, and became as one with the old association.

The Native American party was organized in 1843, and the Silver Grays in 1850.

In 1854, a combination of Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Whigs, Americans, and Free-Soilers opposed Pierce's administration, under the designation of "Anti-Nebraska" or the "Pasion" ticket. At this time the Republican party was organized in some of the states; it became a National party in 1856. The same year, a part of the Americans, calling themselves North Americans, joined the Republican party. This party gained the ascendency in 1860, and the following year was joined by a portion of the Constitutional Unionists, who had formed a party the preceding year out of the disbanded American party

The Democratic party was in power from 1863 till the inauguration of Lincoln. This party was dismembered in 1860. The Breckinridge wing, of the south, entered the Confederacy; the Douglas wing supported the Union; a portion from each section joined the Remblian party.

section joined the Republican party.

The Liberal Republicas, in 1872, united with the Democracy, and nominated Horace Greeley. This ticket was not satisfactory to a number of Democrata. These, calling themselves "Straightonts." met at Louisville. Kentucky, and nominated O'Conor.

The Temperance party, organized in 1872, was called the Prohibition party in 1876.

The Labor party, originating in trade-unions, was formed in

1872.
Out of the Granger organization grew, in part, the National

Out of the Granger organization grew, in part, the National (Greenback) party.

The Tammany Democrats, and Independent Republicans, or "Scratchers," of New York, are represented; and below is seen the National Liberal party, organized at Cincinnati, in September, 1879, under the lead of Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll.

Every issue that a party has advocated is presented prominently to the eye. The issues of a platform appear in groups. Take, for instance, the platform of the Free-Soil party in 1848, and note the leading thoughts therein. An issue is attached to a party only once.

Along the upper edge of the "Political Diagram" will be found the names of the Presidents from time to time at the head of the Federal government. Vertical lines, springing from year figures, divide the party history given in the Diagram into Administration epochs.

Arranged between the Administration-epoch lines, along the lower edge of this folding chart, will be found the names of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, with the number of electoral and popular votes by them severally received; also, the political complexions of the two Houses of Congress.

At the back of this work, as has been stated, will be found

an ontline history of the

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

At the left is an analysis, giving its divisions and subdivisions. To the right of this is a classification of the administrations from the time of Washington to the present. The colors show the politics of each administration. But five parties have had control of the Federal government—the Federal, the Democratic-Republican, the Democratic, the Whig, and the modern Republican. The dates at the top show the beginning and close of the administrations. From these dates, vertical lines extend through the chart. The history of an administration is located between two lines. At the top of the space, included between two of these lines, is seen the name of a President, below which are Federal officers, consisting of his Cabinet, Judges of the Supreme Court, the Vice-President, and the Speaker of the House. The position which each officer occupied is shown by the analysis on the left. The time each official was in office is shown by the dates: for instance, John Marshall was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835. Below the list of government officials are given all the important congressional events that occurred during each administration.

Commencing with page 7 and ending with page 32 is a

"CONSPECTUS" OF POLITICAL HISTORY.

Here is shown, in concise and comprehensive paragraphs. arranged under Administration-headings, the history and status of each political party then in existence, with an explanation and discussion of concurrent party issues; the causes which led to their adoption; why new parties were formed or old ones revived, and why dissolved; the measures they supported and the political principles they espoused—thus furnishing a connected history of American political parties, from their rise to the present day.

The next subject-division is headed

PLATFORMS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

This contains the resolutions and platforms of the political associations which have sprung up and flourished in this country, either in weakness or in strength, beginning with extracts from the celebrated and historical Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and ending with the party platforms of 1880. No other publication contains, in its entirety, this important political historical feature.

Next follow a series of

POLITICAL AND FISCAL MAPS AND PLATES.

Which contain a large amount of complementary information.

First, is a Political Map of the United States. If a District has a Republican representative in Congress, it is colored Red; if the representative is Democratic, the District is colored Yellow.

The next plate is a Fiscal Chart, showing the relative amount of the revenue, debt, and expenditures of the Federal government. The explanations below show what each color indicates. Bordering the diagram for Revenue are figures, giving for each year the amount of the revenue. This amount is represented to the eye by colors. Take, for example, the revenue for 1815. The revenue for that year was fifteen million seven hundred thousand dollars. Of this amount as much was from customs as the length of the yellow on the space for the year is to the full length of the space across the column. In like manner, the Expenditures are indicated to the eye. The central column shows most vividly the difference between the amount of the debt in the time of Jackson, and that which the government sustained at the close of the civil war.

The next plate gives the Politics of the States according to the politics of the Governors. This is made clear by the explanation attached below.

In like manner, another plate gives the Politics of the States according to their votes for President.

The other plates are interesting as matters of reference.

The last map of this series shows the

ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY, AND ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

Bordering the Fiscal Chart will be found the full text of the

VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.

An extract from which is given on page 33. And on the sides of the next following plate is printed the full text of the

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.

The closing printed matter of this work is a

TABLE OF GOVERNORS.

Arranged under state headings, giving the names of the gubernatorial incumbents, and the dates of their office holding.

CONSPECTUS OF POLITICAL HISTORY.

COLONIAL.

COLONIAL POLITICS.—The colonists were not divided among themselves by political parties; but they advocated sentiments adverse to those of the British crown, in regard to government, trade, and taxation.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT, the colonies maintained, was secured to them by their charters, which were regarded in the light of civil compacts, not to be changed without the consent of the parties thereto. By virtue of these instruments, and the rights of Englishmen, guaranteed by the magnac charta, the colonies also "claimed the exclusive supervision over all internal interests, and the sole right to levy and collect taxes." They consented that Parliament had the reserved right to regulate commerce, but not to adjust the internal trade of the colonies.

INDIRECT TAXATION upon the colonies was attempted as soon as they were favored with prosperity. This was regarded unjust, and protests against the aggressions of Parliament were made by several legislatures. Plymouth protested in 1636, and for the next thirty years other colonies followed the example.

NAVIGATION LAWS, enacted from time to time, annoyed the colonies after the year 1651. They were odious, among other reasons, because they generally required colonial exports and imports to be carried in English ships, and forced the colonies to trade with England and pay high duty on their products.

INTER-COLONIAL DUTIES, in 1672, upon various articles of trade, were imposed by the parent country for the first time. Manufacturing establishments soon sprang up to counteract this illiberal policy, but these were interdicted and crippled by British authority, and followed by other oppressive measures.

DIRECT TAXATION on the colonies was attempted in 1765, by means of the Stamp Act. It provided that all legal documents should be executed upon paper bearing a stamp for which the English government charged a specific price. This was resented by the colonies with indignation, protests, and alarm, and was followed by a series of aggressions upon the local self-government of the colonists, who, when civil measures had been exhausted in behalf of their cause, resorted to arms.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION began in 1775, and was waged one year against the mother country for a redress of grevances; but being unable to obtain this, the colonies declared themselves free and independent.

REVOLUTIONARY.

ORIGIN OF PARTIES.—When the Revolutionary war began (1775), the questions at issue between the British ministry and the colonists gave rise, among the latter, to the Whig and the Tory party. These were the names of the two great political parties in England, but they lost in America the significance which they had in the parent country. The line of difference between the parties, for the first fifteen months of hostilities, was drawn by the terms on which the connection of the colonies with England should continue. "The Whigs wished to remain colonists on condition that their rights would be guaranteed to them;" the Tories were willing to thus remain without such guarantee. After the

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE in 1776, the Whigs advocated absolute separation from Great Britain, while the Tories supported the cause of the Crown. The declaration was

moved in Congress, June 7th, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in these words: "Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." A formal declaration was then prepared, and adopted on the 4th of July.

THE WHIG PARTY was composed of those Americans who favored the principles for which the Revolutionary war was fought, and drew into its ranks nearly all the clergy, except those of the Episcopal faith; the major part of the lawyers; a large proportion of the physicians; and many "young men who had their fortunes to make and distinctions to win." "Sons of Liberty" and "Liberty Men" were Whiga. Those of this party who took an active part in the struggle for independence were

called Patriots. A majority of the colonists were Whige. It is estimated that in some states they were probably in the minority, and in others they about equaled their opponents. When hostilities opened, this party began to assume control of colonial affairs, both civil and military, and throughout the war it directed the government of the states and of the nation. The Whigs fought for a cause as righteous as any that ever arrayed men in battle, and in so doing they broke the yoke of colonial vassalage and gained for the world much of that which they gained for themselves.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—During the first six years of the war, the central authority of the country was the Continental Congress, composed of delegates from the states, who acted under assumed powers. The requirements of Congress were not binding upon the states unless they so willed; but unity of action was secured by patriotism and a common danger, and the "power exercised by Congress was acquiesced in by the people." To establish a settled form of government and a permanent union, the United States, in 1781, adopted the

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, by which, thirteen in number, the powers of Congress were defined. "This body was granted control over questions of war and peace; but its powers and daties were chiefly advisory and dependent for their execution upon the co-operation of the states." The articles did not provide for an executive or a judicial department. By this defective system, Congress was left powerless in civil affairs, and the highest authority was vested in the states.

THE TORY PARTY was composed of the colonists who adhered to the Crown during the war. It was joined by nearly

all royal officials, some eminent lawyers, dependents of royal landholders, numerous physicians, some who were at first conservative, or neutral, and those who, not otherwise influenced, dreading the strength of England, believed that a "successful resistance to her power was impossible." The Tories, or Royalists, composed a considerable portion of the force employed to put down the "rebellion." The number of them who enlisted in the military service of the Crown was probably more than twenty-five thousand. Various measures were taken by the Whig populace to awe and punish the Tories. Different ones at different times, as circumstances seemed to suggest, were "tarred and feathered," mobbed, smoked, waylaid, insulted, denosed from office, and driven from home. Against them the legislatures of the states, according to the offense committed, passed laws inflicting such penalties as death, exile, confiscation of estate, loss of personal liberty for a limited period, disqualification from office, imprisonment, and transportation to a British possession. At the peace of 1783, these laws were in force, and no provision was made for the Royalists; they were hanished by those they had opposed, and neglected by those they had aided. When the British troops were withdrawn from our shores, the Tories abandoned the United States and became the founders of New Brunswick and Upper Canada. The exiles appealed to Parliament for relief, and received, after several years of delay, fifteen and a half millions of dollars. Besides this, many of them obtained "annuities, half pay as military officers, large grants of land, and shared with other subjects in the patronage of the Crown." The Royalists, whose injury to the cause of liberty had not been great, were permitted to remain at home. The issue on which their party was based, died with the Revolution, and in 1783 the Tory party ceased to

CONFEDERATION.

PARTICULARISTS .- The Whigs of the Revolution were composed of two classes of men holding opposite views on national government. One class held to the idea that state government should be supreme; they were unwilling that a central authority should have power to coerce a state. They feared that such a government would deprive the states of their freedom, and would establish over them a sovereignty as objectionable as the one from which they were struggling to free themselves. They believed in a central government, republican in form and democratic in spirit, provided its powers were limited; but they were jealous of delegated authority, and looked with suspicious eye at every effort tending towards centralization of government. They were forced to these conclusions by their own experience and that of their forefathers, on "whose hearts the fires of persecution had burned a hatred of royalty too deep to be erased." These partisans are designated "Particularists."

STRONG GOVERNMENT MEN.—The other class was composed of men who regarded local self-government as inadequate to meet the exigencies of the public service. They believed that a government modeled after that of England should be established over the United States, and that the governments of the states, if they could not be destroyed, should be reduced in im-

portance. These are called "Strong Government" men. The important matters of the war prevented these conflicting views from appearing as disturbers of the public mind; but after the recognition of our independence they were freely diseassed, and "were soon developed in the formation of political parties."

THE WEAKNESS OF THE CONFEDERATION was seen by the Strong Government men, and they determined upon a change of central authority. The condition of the country was an aid to them. National affairs were in a bad condition at the close of the war, and, under inefficient government, grew worse, till the country bordered on a state of anarchy. The states looked upon Congress as a creation of the war, and as something not necessary in time of peace. They first ignored its requisitions, then scoffed at its weakness, and finally boasted of their neglect of duty. Their want of unanimity prevented the regulation of foreign trade. Distant nations, owing to the weakness of Congress, were unwilling to bind themselves by commercial treaties with our country. The legislatures of states having ports for foreign commerce, taxed the people of other States trading through them; others taxed imports from sister states; ia other instances the navigation laws treated the people of other states as aliens. The government was without power to raise money for the payment of its debts, unless the states willed to comply with its regulations. The United States were neither obeyed at home nor respected abroad. The disregard of law, which, for several years, had been manifested by the legislatures, appeared among the people, and in Masachusests resulted in Shay's Rebellion. It became apparent that the country was on the verge of civil war. The advocates of a strong government charged all these calamities to the Confederation, and declared that upon the success of their issues depended the perpetuity of the Union.

CONSTITUTION FORMED .- The constant aim of the Strong Government men was to reform the Articles of Confederation. The first definite act in this direction was in 1786, when the Assembly of Virginia "appointed commissioners to meet in convention to consider the question of commerce, with the view of altering the Articles of Confederation." The commissioners were required to invite all the states to take part in the measure. The convention met at Annapolis, September 11th, 1786; but only five states being represented, a report was drawn up, urging the appointment of commissioners from all the states "to meet at Philadelphia on the second day of May next, to devise such other provisions as shall, to them, seem necessary to render the condition of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state, will effectually provide for the same." When this report was made, the Strong Government leaders made vigorous efforts to secure a full representation, and the selection of delegates whose names would give importance to the convention. Congress, in order to sanction the report, recommended the legislatures to appoint delegates to meet in convention at Philadelphia, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and report to Congress and the state legislatures." The convention met at the appointed time, and continued its labors until September 17th. Instead of revising the Articles of Confederation, it formed a constitution and sent it to Congress to be submitted to that body and through the local legislatures to the people, the instrument providing that, if ratified by nine of the thirteen states, it should be binding upon those ratifying the same. Congress complied with the wish of the convention, and the constitution was soon before the people for adoption or rejection.

ANTI-FEBERAL PARTY.—All the efforts at making any phange in the Articles of Confederation met with persistent opposition from the Particularists, who were now called Anti-Pederals, a designation which they received from their opponents, because they opposed a federal government under the constitution. This party was in power till the Confederation was superseded by the Federal government, and it "represented very fairly the ideas and feelings that prevailed with the masses during the Revolution." Most prominent among the Anti-Pederal leaders were

Patrick Henry, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and George Clinton. This party distrusted the motives of the opposition, and feared that the strong government which the latter wished to establish would be disposed to grasp at power and become, eventually, oppressive and tyrannical. Their suspicions in regard to this led them to oppose measures which they otherwise would have supported. They did not regard the condition of the nation as deplorable as was represented by their opponents, and in behalf of their position they appealed to the peace the country was enjoying. They regarded the government of the Confederation sufficient to meet the wants of the Union. Nothing but necessity led them to change in opinion. As by degrees the Union approached dissolution, certain Anti-Federals would accept the views of their opponents. The proceedings of the constitutional convention were conducted with closed doors; this fact served to increase the suspicion of the Anti-Federals, and gave rise to rumors purporting the establishment of a monarchy. After the constitution was presented for ratification, the Anti-Federalists became "alarmed at the character of the new government to be established; increased their attachments for the governments of the states; excited fears; refused to examine and judge; and persisted in their opposition to the constitution till they were forced to accept it or dissolve the Union." The Anti-Federalists became Close Constructionists, because they wished to interpret the constitution according to its terms and prevent an ingenious construction of its provisions.

FEDERAL PARTY .- When the constitution was reported by the Philadelphia convention, the energies of the Strong Government men were exerted to secure the ratification of the new instrument, and, because these partisans favored a federal government under the constitution, they assumed for their party the name of Federal. This party was in the minority till the beginning of Washington's administration. The Federalists became Broad Constructionists, because they desired to interpret the constitution so as to invest the Federal government with a great amount of power. Discussions upon the subject of ratification were carried on in public assemblies, through the press, and in local legislatures. Jay, Wilson, Hamilton and Madison were especially conspicuous in the Federal cause. In a New York newspaper there appeared, under the name of "Publius," eighty-five essays favoring the adoption of the constitution. These essays, written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, were collected and published in a book called "The Federalist." "which is a classic in American political literature." The labors of the Federalists had the desired effect. On the 2d day of July, 1788, Congress was informed by the president that nine states had ratified the constitution. That hody fixed the "first Wednesday in March as the time, and New York as the place, for commencing proceedings under the constitution."

Washington was inaugurated on the 30th of April, 1789; and government under an officer designated the "President of the United States," was then began.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

FEDERAL PARTY IN POWER.—At the dissolution of the Confederation the Federal party passed into power and assumed control of the national legislature. The first duty of the party

was that of organizing a government based upon the constitution—a task requiring time, patience, and deliberation. Washington, wishing to be a mediator between the political parties, and to show that the administration had only the best wishes of the country at heart, formed his cabinet of men holding opposite views on politics.

ANTI-FEDERALS ORGANIZE.—At the beginning of the administration the Anti-Federals did not constitute an organized opposition to the party in power; but as new measures of the government were advanced, they were taken as issues for drawing party lines and for perfecting and strengthening the ranks of the minority.

HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON were members of Washington's cabinet, and held antagonistic views on the subject of government. Their ideas made their way into Congress, thence among the people, were responded to by nearly equal numbers, and formed, principally, the issues on which the political parties were divided for a number of succeeding administrations. Hamilton was the leader of the Federal party, and Jefferson of the opposition.

TARIFF.—During the first session of Congress, a law was passed in which the principle of a protective tariff was recognized by declaring it to be "necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported." Hamilton's report on the subject, made after this law was passed, is regarded by free-traders as most canningly devised, and by protectionists as containing arguments never answered.

BLL of RIGHTS.—One of the serious objections to the constitution before its ratification was "the absence of a distinct bill of rights, recognizing the fundamental principles of government—the equality of all men, and their rights to life, liberty, and the pursait of happiness." The objections to the constitution which had been pointed out before its adoption were condeused, in the first season of Congress, and moulded into a bill of rights "consisting of twelve articles, ten of which were afterwards ratified and incorporated as amendments into the constitution."

STATE SOVEREIGNTY.—That the interests of the states should be guarded with jealous care, was the most prominent political idea in the minds of the Anti-Federals under the Confederation. When the new government went into operation their views were not changed, and they continued to base their party upon the leading ideas, that delegated authority should be regarded with distrust, and that the power of a state should be supreme. In these they were strengthened by what appeared to be the monarchical tendencies of the Federals and their broad construction of the constitution.

FINANCIAL POLICY.—Legislation upon finance began in January, 1709, and was in accordance with Hamilton's financial policy. It embraced considerations on debts, internal revenue, and a United States bank. The Federal measures on these subjects caused the Anti-Federals to complete their organization in opposition to the administration, and added to their ranks a number of Federals, among whom was James Madison, who had done more than any other man, besides Hamilton, to effect the adoption of the constitution.

THE DEBTS occasioned legislation on the Funding act, providing for the funding of the national debt, and on the Assumption bill, providing for the assumption, by the Union, of the debts of the states. The opposition to the first was not very great, but the Assumption bill was passed only by a compromise which allowed "the new capital" to be located on the Potomac

instead of on the Susquehanna. The bill elicited a memorial from the Virginia assembly, petitioning that the measure be repealed to prevent a change in the form of the national government.

INTERNAL REVENUE.—The excise law imposed a tax on spittinus liquors distilled in the country. The opposition to the law was not limited to a war of words; four counties in western Pennsylvania rose in insurrection, defied the authority of the government, tarred and feathered a tax collector, robbed him of his horse, and committed other acts of violence.

MLUTIA.—After three years of disobedience to law, the administration determined "to try whether the new constitution had really created a government;" accordingly, fifteen thousand militia were called out (1794), and their appearance in the rebellions districts restored the insurgents to order. When the militia was called for, "vials of gall," by the Anti-Federals, were poured out on Hamilton, who had advised the measure; they, calling him a despot and a surper, prophesied that the militia would not obey orders; that civil war would ensue; and that the insurgent counties would seeded from the Union.

NATIONAL BANK.—A bill establishing a national bank passed Congress in 1791, and was signed by the president after Hamilton and Knox had decided that it was constitutional, and Jefferson and Randolph had expressed a contrary opinion. In their opposition to the bill, the minority argued that the establishment of a national bank was not constitutional, because a bank was not authorized by the constitution; that it was not necessary to the exercise of any powers expressly given by that instrument; that it would prevent the states from maintaining banks; and would give to the place where the bank was located an advantage over all others.

SLAVERY.—While the financial questions were before the country, a Pennsylvania society petitioned Congress to use its powers to stop the traffic in slaves. On the question of referring the petition to a committee, there ensued, sectional in character rather than political, a violent debate on the question of slavery, the first of the kind in the history of the Union. The discussion took a wide range, and, before closing, the threat of civil war was heard. In 1793 a fightive slave law was enacted.

REPUBLICAN PARTY.—After the ten amendments to the constitution had been ratified, the objections of the minority to that instrument were soon entirely withdrawn. This, with the growing popularity of the constitution, caused Jefferson and his friends to reject, as inappropriate, the name of Anti-Federal, and assume the title of Democratic Republican; for they claimed to be the true friends of republican government instead of their opponents, whom they accused of hostility to popular institutions. Accordingly, after 1791, the organization was known as the Republican party, the name "Democratic" being generally dropped, owing to the charges concerning

DEMOCRATS.—The party in power claimed to be Federal Republicans, and when they were accused of being monarchists and enemies of free institutions, they repelled the charge, and "stigmatized the Republicans as Democrats, an appellation assumed by the ferocious Jacobins who had so lately filled France with frenzy, terror, and bloodshed." The name being affixed as a reproach, was not at first adopted.

ELECTION OF 1792.—Washington wished to retire to private life at the close of his first term, but being convinced that a majority of the people desired his continuance in office, he consented

to be a candidate, and was re-elected by a unanimous vote. Mr. Adams was chosen a second time for Vice-President.

FRANCE.—"The French Revolution was at first hailed with delight by both parties in the United States;" but as the revolutionists grew bold in excess, sympathy was withdrawn from them by the Federals, and increased for them by the Anti-Fedcrals, whose favoritism in this direction continued more than two decades.

FOREIGN POLICY .- So popular did the course of the revo-Intionists become in the United States that citizens were desirons to aid France in her war against England. To avert this danger. Washington (April 22, 1793,) issued his celebrated proclamation of neutrality, by which the United States were enjoined to keep free from complications with foreign nations. This defined the foreign policy of the government, and was attacked by the Republican press with such unwonted vigor that Hamilton entered the lists for the administration. Jefferson said the proclamation wounded popular feelings and national honor. The agitation closed at the recall of Genet, the French minister, whose conduct was resented by the government; but France, in 1797, appeared a second time as a disturbing element in politics, in her efforts to draw the United States into a war against England. The difficulties which began at that time were not settled till the next administration.

ENGLAND.—In November, 1793, the English order in council forhade the commerce of foreign nations with the colonies of France. This was unfriendly to the United States; Congress voted an embargo of thirty days, and attempted legislation which would have rendered war with England almost inevitable. Washington sent Chief-Justice Jay as minister extraordinary to England, that he might effect a treaty of reconciliation between the two countries. The treaty was prepared and presented to the Senate for ratification. It was the signal for a political contest which Washington regarded as the most serious crisis of his administration. The Federals advocated the ratification of the treaty. The Republicans "branded the Federalists as the British party," and charged them with sacrificing the most sacred dictates of national honor. The contest closed when the treaty was ratified.

ELECTION OF 1796.—Washington's Farewell Address, issued in Angust of this year, assured the people that he would now retire from public life. There was no other man on whom the whole nation could unite. The presidential contest which followed excited an implacable party spirit, and was the first great struggle for ascendency between the parties. The Federalists nominated John Adams for President, and the Republicans, Thomas Jefferson. The result was avictory for each party. Mr. Adams was elected President, and Mr. Jefferson, receiving the next highest number of votes, was chosen Vice-President. The election showed that the Federalists were losing ground and that the Republicans were gaining. The former were weakened by feuds among their leaders, and the latter were strengthening their organization and numbers as they advanced from a party of mere opposition to one with a positive policy.

RETIREMENT OF WASHINGTON.—The President, while administering the government, had been violently assailed by partisans, but nothing could alienate him from the affections of the people. "He retired, leaving to his successor a system of wise and sound policy successfully inamprated."

JOHN ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

PRESIDENT'S POSITION.—John Adams was inaugurated President in Congress Hall, at Philadelphia, March 4th, 1797. In his address he denied the charge of sympathy for England "which had been hurled against the administration." This somewhat softened the arder of the opposition; but the President continued his attachment for those who had elevated him to the position of Chief Magistrate.

FRANCE.—Complications with France demanded immediate attention. The French Directory having failed in drawing the United States into an alliance with France against the allied powers, and, incensed at the treaty with England concluded by Jay, dismissed the American minister and began to cripple our foreign trade. The President called an extra session of Congress, which convened on the 15th of May, 1797. He ladid before that body a statement of the aggressions of France. The administration had a majority in the Senate, but the House was doubtful. Advances for reconciliation with France were made by the President with the concurrence of the Senate. Party spirit ran high and was "tinged with bitterness hitherto unknown." The session closed on the 10th of July. "Notwithstanding the insults of the French Directory, the Republicans entertained an abiding affection for France."

"STAMP ACT."-During the extra session an act was passed "laying duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and

paper." This law resembled the stamp act of 1765, and was obnoxious to a large number of people.

WAR YERSUS FRANCE.—Negotiations for a peaceable adjustment of difficulties having proved fruitless, Congress began to prepare for war. A standing army (May, 1798), a naval armament, and the capture of French vessels, were authorized. Although neither country declared war, hostilities were begun npon the ocean. France, seeing the hostile attitude of the United States, made overtures for an adjustment of difficulties. These were accepted, and resulted in a treaty of peace (1800).

EXLARGEMENT OF THE ARMY AND NAVY.—The Republicans maintained that, previous to actual hostilities, the militia and a small naval force were sufficient for internal defense, and the protection of our coasts and harbors. Accordingly, the actions of Congress, providing for the establishment of a standing army, its enlargement, and that of the navy, were regarded as measures calculated to overawe public sentiment in time of peace.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—The outrages of France were repugnant to many Republicans, and gained for a short time a large number of adherents to the Federal party. This rendered the administration sufficiently bold to attempt fettering its enemy at home. To this end were passed an alien, a sedition and a naturalization law.

THE ALIEX LAW empowered the President to send ont of the country any person reasonably suspected of engaging in secret machinations against the government. It was opposed because it lodged with the executive too much power, and was liable to great abuse.

THE SEDITION LAW authorized the punishment, by fine and imprisonment, of persons who should unlawfully oppose or stir up sedition against the Federal government or its officials. The Republicans resented the law, because it restricted the liberty of speech and of the press.

THE NATURALIZATION LAW, with other requirements, provided that an alien must reside in the United States fourteen years before he could become a citizen. This law was repugnant to the Republicans, since it retarted limnigration, allowed in the country too many persons owing no allegiance to the government, and assailed the idea that the rights of America are the rights of human nature.

THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS were occasioned by the allen and sedition laws. Their importance lies in the fact that with them the doctrine of nullification originated. Jefferson was the author of the former and Madison of the latter. The resolutions were protests against the measures of Congress, which, being nnable to resist, the Republicans made through state legislatures. But Virginia did not stop with resolutions; it prepared to use force in resenting the encroachments of the Federal government, and for this purpose an armory was erected at Richmond.

RUPTURE OF THE CABINET.—When the Sixth Congress convened, the Federal gain had been such as to give the administration a majority in the House, but the gain was the result of external politics—the war with France—and its value could not be lasting. The supremacy of the Federal party was drawing to a close. A disaffection in its ranks had been growing for some time, when, in May, 1800, it occasioned a rupture of the cabinet. This served to weaken the efforts of the Federalists at

THE ELECTION OF 1800.—The Federal candidates for President and Vice-President were John Adams and C. C. Pinckney. Mr. Adams' Federal opponents endeavored to secure the first position for Mr. Pinckney. Hamilton wrote a pamiphlet setting forth the defects of Mr. Adams, and giving the "superior fitness of Mr. Pinckney for the position of Chief Magistrate." There was no such division among the opposition, In 1800, a congressional convention, composed of Republicans, was held in Philadelphia. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were nominated as candidates for the executive offices. A platform of principles was promulgated. [See D. and Pl.] An earnest and spirited campaign followed. Of the electors chosen, seventy-three were Republicans, and sixty-five Federalists. By the constitution at that time, each elector voted for two persons; he who received the greatest number of votes was to be President, and he who received the next greatest was to be Vice-President. The Republicans voted so that Jefferson and Burr received each seventy-three votes, which threw the election into the Honse. Thomas Jefferson was chosen on the thirty-sixth ballot. During the excitement preceding the election of Jefferson the country was in peril. The Federalists thought of casting the election on the Senate, if the states could make no choice, To this the Republicans threatened forcible resistance. The efforts of the Federals in the House to defeat the election of Jefferson by forming a coalition with the friends of Burr. caused a great number to desert the Federal ranks and join the Republicans.

DEMOCRATS.—"Democratic-Republican," abbreviated to the second word, continued to be the official name of the party of Jefferson. The unpopularity of Adams' administration was transferred to the Federal party, and the name "Democrat," by which this organization stigmatized the minority, was adopted by a good portion of them, and became a synonym for the word Republican.

DOWNFALL OF FEDERALISM,-The election of 1800 broke the sceptre of Federal power. The defeated factions charged each other with causing the downfall of the Federal party. But for this political prostration there were other causes. The party maintained its supremacy from the first more through superior organization and skillful leaders than through the aid of a numerical majority; it organized a government, "novel in its character, and well calculated to create diversity of opinion relative to the details of its administration;" it adhered to the policy of non-interference with the affairs of foreign nations, a policy which, as regards England and France, was not approved by large numbers of the people; it increased the expenditures of the government to meet the rapid expansion and growing demand of the country, and this increase met with opposition, the causes not being sought. The Federal party did not fall without honor. "To it belongs the proud distinction of having laid the foundation of the government structure, and of having reared the machinery for its operation. The principles of the party survived its existence; they were denonnced by the opposition, but were generally re-established and maintained by the party that succeeded to power."

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.—Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President, at Washington Gity, March 4th, 1801. His policy was set forth in his mangural address, which showed that he desired to effect a unity of action between the parties. What he deemed the essential principles of our government was stated in the following words: "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religions or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all mations—entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies

are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relive ten; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and the sacred pervation of the public first, encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; the freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of the habes corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected!" This address, for a long time, constituted a creed of political faith for great numbers of the people.

REPUBLICAN TRACK.—Mr. Jefferson endeavored to put the government on its Republican track. Circumstances favored his endeavors. The foreign and domestic difficulties, which bore so heavily upon his predecessor, were either settled or being adjusted. National finances were prosperous, and material resources were increasing rapidly. He accepted the institutions of the government as they had been provided for by his predecessor, and in so doing incurred no responsibility. Many of his principles were the opposite of those on which the government was administered during Federal rule. The administration was sustained by large majorities, and the Republicans were gaining strength in every section of the Union.

DEMOCRATS.—The name *Democrat* in the Ninth Congress began to encroach upon that of *Republican*, and continued to do so till the latter went into disuse.

ctured And State.—The formidable body of Federalwho, during the first two administrations, were desirons of forming a union of church and state, surrendered the idea reluctantly when the Republican party came into power. The result was effected mainly through the arguments of this party.

NATURALIZATION LAW.—The President, in his first messter the Seventh Congress, recommended legislation upon a variety of subjects, and dwelt at some length upon a revival of the naturalization law of 1798. Congress modified the law so as to retain the provisions of the one passed in 1795. "This required a residence of five years, and an application three years prior to admission."

SLAVES DESIRED FOR INDIANA.—Between 1803 and 1808, several attempts were made by the inhabitants of Indiana territory to induce Congress to modify the ordinance of 1787 so that slaves, for a limited time, could be introduced into the territory. No favorable action on the subject was taken by Congress. The question was not made a political issue.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA had its origin in the desire of the United States to obtain control of the mouth of the Mississippi, that our western inhabitants might have a market for their products without annoyance from a foreign power. A treaty for the purchase was concluded in April, 1303, and submitted to Congress by the President on the 17th of October.

The Republicans favored the annexation, and based its legality upon an attribute of sovereignty transferred to the general government by the individual states. That attribute is the right to acquire territory. This was interpreting the constitutions as to give it assumed powers; it was a doctrine which the Republicans had hitherto combated, but which they now advocated with great ardor. The executive himself did not believe that

the constitution warranted the acquisition of foreign territory, but he acquiesced in the will of his friends.

The Federals maintained that the government had no power to acquite territory, according to the terms of the coustitution; that the purchase of Louisiana would give to the southern states a preponderance which would continue for all time, since the internal development of the southern states would be more rapid than that of the northern; that states developed out of the territory west of the Mississippl would prove injurious to the commerce of New England, and would disturb the political equilibrium which should exist between the east and other sections of the country; and that the admission of the "western world" into the Union would compel the eastern states to establish an independent empire. When the purchase was made, the minority doubted whether the Louisianians should be admitted to the privileges of citizenship, owing to their lineage, dialect, manners, and religion.

SECESSION PLANNED.—The accession of Louisiana to the Union impressed the Federalists with the idea that the "balance of power" among the states must remain forever in favor of the south, and prompted their most radical leaders to suggest the secession of the northers states. Their hope of success was in uniting with the followers of Burr, that he might be elected governor of New York and be made leader of the northern party. This being accomplished, the name Federal would be dropped, and the war-cry would become "the north!" and "the south".

But Hamilton opposed the plan, frustrated the election of Burr, and the overwhelming majorities of the party in power rendered fruitless any immediate attempts at dissolving the Union.

THE BURRITES.—A division in the Republican ranks took place at the election of Jefferson. The adherents of Aaron Burr were called Burrites. The breach between the two portions broadened as the ambitious plans of Burr grew more daring. By a fusion with this faction, the Federallats hoped to regain power. The influence of the Burrites ceased with the death of their leader.

ELECTION OF 1804.—The candidates for both parties, this year, were chosen by cancuses consisting of congressmen. The measures of Jefferson's administration were so popular among the people that he was re-elected in autumn by 162 out of 176 electoral votes.

THE EMBARGO.—The struggle in Europe between Napoleon and the allied powers, gave the President an opportunity to inaugurate a foreign policy.

England forbade all trade with the French and their allies, and Napoleon, in retaliation, issued the Milan decree, by which all commerce with England and her colonies was prohibited. These measures violated the neutral rights of the United States and were destructive to their commerce. "American seamen were impressed by British cruisers and compelled to serve in a foreign navy." Reasonable diplomacy having been rejected, the President recommended an embargo. Congress took the measure under advisement, and three days afterward, on the 21st of December, 1877, passed the Embargo act. The law was at first quietly received by the people, owing to the belief then prevalent that the disturbance of commercial relations with a foreign power was a sure means of defense against injuries which the nation might inflict. This belief did not last long, and the Republican party was required to defend the act. The embargo was the great landmark of Jefferson's administration, which claimed that "its only choice lay between the embargo and war,

and that war should be avoided as long as possible." The Republicans anged in defense of their position, that it was the only way in which the United States could obtain redress from England and France. Both countries had injured the United States in the same way, and to obtain redress by warlike measures would involve the United States in a war with both. This, it was claimed, was something for which the country was not produced, the people began to marmur. The Federala urged that the government, by stopping commerce, laid "violent hands on the commercial existence of hundreds of thousands of its citizens;" that the embargo was unconstitutional, because it was not limited to a definite time; that it helped England against France, and was so intended; and that it rained a large portion of the productive industry of the country.

When it became an established fact that all interests had suffered from the embargo, the tide of public opinion turned against it, and the law met with open resistance on the eastern coast and the Canadian border. In January, 1809, the inefficiency of the embargo having been assertained, the administration avowed a change of front, and resolved to resume and defend the navigation of the high seas against any nation having in force decreaviolating the neutral rights of the United States. Congress provided for the repeal of the law on the 18th of March.

The discussions over the embargo added strength to the Federalists, but, lacking leaders, they were unable to profit by their advantage. At first they advacated war with England, instead of the embargo, but when the dominant party changed front and determined upon a repeal of the act and a defense of commerce, they opposed, unconditionally, a war with England.

THE NON-INTERCOURSE ACT was a law prohibiting commercial intercourse with England and France, until the "orders in council" and the "decrees" should be repealed.

ELECTION OF ISOS.—President Jefferson, in imitation of the example of Washington, declined a re-election. The Republicans were divided as to who should be his snocessor. One cancus nominated James Madison and another James Monroe. Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King were the Federal candidates. An earnest canvass followed, in which the Republicans feared their own dissensions more than Federal opposition. Seventeen congressmen formally protested against the election of Madison, and proclaimed his unfitness for the presidency. In some places George Clinton was suggested as the proper man for the position. The embargo, during the canvass, operated in the interests of the Federallsst; but the dominant party was too strong to be overthrown. Madison was elected by a large majority.

REPUBLICANISM TESTED.—Jefferson's administration gave him an opportunity to exemplify the substantive ideas embodied in the platform on which he was elected, and asserted in his inaugural address. He tested Republicanism, and demonstrated that according to its principles the government could be administered with fairness. His course was consistent; his duties were stailfully performed; his administration was promotive of the varied interests of the country; and its influence upon the sentiments and aspirations of the people was benign.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

MADISON'S POLICY, both in regard to foreign and general adfairs was the same as that of Jefferson. His inaugural address contained an enunciation of principles which repeated, in substance, those of his predecessor, and added nothing save what was demanded by the exigencies of the times.

DIPLOMACY .- Mr. Madison inherited from the previous administration the pending controversy with England. He desired to avert war as long as possible by the use of diplomacy. England and France were still at a dead-lock and disregarding neighboring neutrals. The former adhered to her "orders in council," and insisted that "a man once a subject was always a subject;" the latter had authorized the seizure and confiscation of American vessels which should enter the ports of France. Mr. Erskine, the British minister, in April, 1809, concluded a treaty with the government, which engaged that the "orders in council" should be withdrawn; but the British ministry refused to sanction his action. When the Non-intercourse act expired, in May, 1810, Mr. Madison "caused proposals to be made to both belligerents, that if either would revoke its hostile edict, this law should only he revived and enforced against the other nation." France accepted the proposal and received the benefits of its execution ; England did not.

ASTEART TO RECHARTER THE NATIONAL BANK.—
As the National Bank would cease to exist on the 4th of March,
1811, unsuccessful attempts that year were made in Congress to
pass a bill rechartering the institution. The measure was advo-

cated by the Federalists; the Republicans as a rule opposed the bill, although some of them gave it their support.

THIRD EMBARGO.—In April, 1812, the President recommended an embargo for sixty days; Congress passed a bill to that effect, but extended the time to ninety days.

ELECTION OF 1812 .- The Republican party was divided on the question of a war with England. One portion favoring the war, and headed by Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, was called the war party; the other portion questioned the propriety of a declaration of war, and received the sympathy of the President. The war party determined that Mr. Madison should identify himself with them, and refused to give him their support for a second term unless he would comply with their wishes. The desired effect having been produced upon the President, he was nominated for re-election by the Republicans, at a congressional caucus held at Washington on the 8th of May. The Federalists, having no ticket of their own, supported Clinton and Ingersoll. In the south and west, Mr. Madison met with but little opposition; in New England the contest was exciting; and in New York, where the Clintonians and Federalists coalesced, there were "accusations of infidelity to the Republican cause, which inflicted political wounds that were never healed."

CLINTONIANS.—Certain Republicans in northern and southern states, not wishing that Virginia should monopolize the administration of the country, objecting to the cancus system

because by it the people were not consulted in selecting candidates, and dissatisfied with the foreign policy of the administration—withdrew their support from Mr. Madison, and, headed by the New York legislature, nominated DeWitt Clinton and Jured Ingersoll for the offices of President and Vice-President. The supporters of this ticket were called Clintonians. They issued an address to the electors of the United States, which constituted the platform of their party, and contained a statement of the issues involved in the campaign. [See D. and Pl.]

WAR DECLARED AND SUPPORTED .- The war of 1812 was declared and supported by the Republicans, and for the measure they were held responsible. On the first of June the President, in a message, declared that our flag was continually violated on the high seas; that the right of searching American vessels for British seamen was claimed and practiced: that thousands of American citizens had been dragged on board of foreign ships and exiled to distant climes; that remonstrances were disregarded; that a peaceful adjustment was refused; that American blood had been shed; and that the British ministry had been intriguing for a dismemberment of the Union. Deliberations in favor of war were begun immediately, carried on with closed doors, and hurried through so rapidly that the minority were cut off from dehate. On the 18th of June war was declared. but it was a party rather than a national war. It was supported in the south and the west with unanimity and patriotism; in New England it was violently opposed. Perhaps nine-tenths of the people were at first in favor of war. The administration party branded the leaders of the minority as Jacobins, enemies of republics, and as monarchists, designing the subversion of the Union. In December, 1813, the President recommended greater restrictions on importations. Congress, accordingly, in secret session, passed a bill imposing great "restrictions on commerce on inland waters." This is known as the embargo.

Negotiations for a peace which would insure to the United States a redress of the wrongs complained of, were in progress during most of the war. In 1813, the Emperor of Russia offered his mediation between the hostile governments. It was accepted by the United States and declined by England; but the latter proposed to treat directly with our government. This met with the approbation of the administration, and a treaty of peace was signed at 64net, in Beleium, December 24th, 1814.

FEDERAL OPPOSITION .- After the declaration of war thirty-four Federal representatives protested, in an address, both against the war and the way in which it had been declared. Not all of the minority opposed the war; but some of them declared it presumptuous, inexpedient, unnecessary, immoral, cruel, unjust, and rninous. Some of the New England states refused the militia aid which the administration called for. Massachusetts voted two memorials to Congress, protesting against the war and praying for peace. In February, 1814, a committee of the general assembly of this state presented the following report on numerous petitions which had been sent to the legislature: "A power to regulate commerce is abused, when employed to destroy it; and a manifest and voluntary abuse of power sanctions the spirit of resistance, as much as a direct and palpable usurpation. The sovereignty reserved to the states was reserved to protect the citizens from acts of violence by the United States, as well as for the purpose of domestic regulation. We spurn the idea that the free, sovereign and independent state of Massachnsetts is reduced to a mere municipal corporation, without power to protect its people and defend them from oppression, from whatever quarter it comes. When the national compact is violated, and the citizens of the state are oppressed by cruel and unauthorized law, this legislature is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor his victim." This report embodied the political ideas contained in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and shows that the Federals were advocating, in regard to state sovereignty, the doctrine which they condemed in Adams' administration. The Republicans declared the report to be treasonable. The political parties on this subject had completely changed grounds.

THE PEACE PARTY was formed, professedly, for the purpose of inculcating the benign doctrines of peace, but its ulterior purpose was to oppose the war and "array the religious sentiment of the country against the administration." "The Washington Benevolent Society" was established, having similar objects in view.

THE BLUE LIGHT TELEGRAPH was used at New London to inform the ships of the enemy when American vessels would put to sea. It consisted of blue lights which were thrown up and burned like rockets.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION assembled nine days before the treaty of Ghent. It consisted of Federal delegates from the New England states. They deliberated three weeks with closed doors, and prepared an address in which they expressed themselves in regard to the condition of the country and the policy of the administration. They adopted a number of resolutions, which, among other things, called for seven amendments to the constitution. [See D. and Pl.] It was imputed, at the time, that the convention had for its ultimate object a movement which would enable the New England states to negotiate a separate peace with Great Britain, but the change in our foreign relations prevented a disclosure of its ulterior purposes.

DEATH OF THE FEDERAL PARTY.—When the war was over, the country was soon biessed with great prosperity. The sufferings of the conflict were forgotten, and men seemed to remember, most of all, how reductantly the Federals had alded the Union in its time of need. Their leaders had taken partin the Hartford convention, and its designs, by the opposition, were declared to be treasonable. The guild attached to a connection with this convention isolated the leaders more and more, white their followers rapidly joined the opposing ranks. At this time the dissolution of the Federal party began; it continued till the organization ceased to exist.

NATIONAL BANK.—In April, 1816, a bill providing for the stablishment of a National Bank was passed by Congress. The institution was chartered for a term of twenty years. The measure being eminently Republican, met with Federal opposition. On the question of a bank the parties had changed places since 1811.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF.—In his seventh annual message, Mr. Madison urged upon Congress a revision of the tariff, and gave reasons why home industry should be protected. Congress, pursuant to the recommendation, enacted a protective tariff. Protection had hitherto been secondary, now it was of primary importance. The law was as popular in the south as in any other section of the Union, in view of the heavy duties upon raw cotton, which Great Britain imposed at that time. The bill was opposed by the Federals. The Republisheat Strengthen their position in support of the act, republished Hamilton's report. Since the days of Hamilton the parties had exchanged positions on the tariff question. The measure at this time was defended by Clay, Calhonn and Lowndes. Webster and Randolph were arrayed against it.

THE ELECTION OF ISIG.—At a Republican cancus, March 16th, 1816, two unsuccessful attempts were made "to pass a resolution declaring it inexpedient to make caucus nominations by members of Congress." The practice had previously occasioned a defection among the Republicans, and now nineteen of the congressmen refused to participate in the proceedings. Monroe and Tompkins were nominated by a vote which was declared unanimous. The Federals, coalescing with Clintonians, who repudiated caucus nominations, were without most strength; their candidates were Rufus King and John E. Howard.

Though the nomination of Monros had been resisted on per-

sonal grounds, and because of "an unwillingness on the part of many that the 'Virginia Dynasty' should continue," he, nevertheless, was elected by 183 voices against 34 cast for the Federalists.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS were at first favored by Mr.
Madison, but during his administration his mind underwent a
change on the subject, and on the day before his retirement from
office he vetoed a bill favoring such works. He did not think
that the constitution authorized the government to engage in
them.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

ERA OF GOOD FEELING.—When Monroe's administration began, the questions involved in the old controversy between the parties had ceased to have any practical significance. He adopted the doctrine of the new school of Republicans, of which Clay and Calloon were leaders, and thus became acceptable to the Federalists, "who were gradually yielding to the liberal views of new generations of men." The Clintonians and the friends of Crawford acquiesced in the decision of the last election, and "most of them signified their intention of supporting the administration."

Wherever party differences existed, they were subsiding by decree into calm serenity. The President visited the states, the summer after his inauguration, and the favorable greeting which he received, added to the political peace which the country enjoyed, caused it to be announced that the "Era of Good Feeling" had begun. By this designation the whole of Monroe's administration is known, though it belongs more distinctly to the second term.

JACKSON'S ADVICE.—General Jackson, gratified at the auspicious circumstances attending Nr. Monros, advised him as follows: "Now is the time to exterminate that monster, called party spirit. By selecting [for cabinet officers] characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings, which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested; always bearing in mind, that he acts for the whole and not a part of the community."

Mr. Monroe, believing that a free government can exist withont parties, concurred generally in the views of Jackson, but thought that he could bring all the people quietly into the Republican fold, and at the same time let his administration rest strongly on that party. All of his cabinet members were Republicans.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—In his inaugural address the President dwelt at length upon the subject of internal limprovements. He believed that the government should encourage the system, but did not think Congress was clothed by the constitution with sufficient power to authorize measures supporting it.

During the first session of the Pifteenth Congress, measures in the interest of internal improvements were carnestly discussed. A majority of the Republicans, headed by Henry Clay, were advocates of the system, but learning that the President would vote any bill in favor of such improvements, they gave the subject no further satention till the next session, when it was renewed nader the pressure of petitions from several states. A bill for the repair and preservation of the Cumberland road was vetoed by the President, with the objection that the constitution would not authorize such legislation without an amendment to that effect.

THE FLORIDA CESSION.—The treaty ceding Florida to the United States, and concluded in 1819, provided that the latter, for the territory acquired, should give Spain \$5,000,000 and the Federal claim to Texas.

To the purchase of Florida there was no opposition; but it was claimed that in acquiring Florida, Texas had been given away; that this relinquishment dismembered the Mississippi Valley; and that it would lead to a war for the establishment of boundaries. Though the treaty was denounced and the motives of its authors attacked, it was at last unanimously ratified by the Senate, and met with the approbation of the people.

THE MISSOURI QUESTION .- When the bill to admit Missouri as a state into the Union had passed to its legislative stage, Gen. Tallmadge, February, 1819, moved the following proviso: "And provided, That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said state, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twentyfive years." This marks the beginning of the famous struggle between the free and the slave states. In the debate which ensued, those opposing the proviso argued that Congress had no constitutional right to impose restrictions as to slavery upon a state wishing admittance into the Union; that the right to hold slaves was guaranteed to the original states by the constitution; and that the right applied to the new states as well as to the old. On the other hand, it was maintained that to leave slavery in the old states was a violation of principle, and to permit it in new. ones was a violation of the constitution. During the discussion

it was declared that the adoption of the proviso would be the death knell of the American Union. The bill as restricted passed the House, but failed in the Senate. The subject was dropped till the first session of the Sixteenth Congress, when Missouri a second time applied for admittance into the Union. The House and the Senate failing to agree upon the terms of admission, a joint committee of conference was appointed, which reported and suggested that Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, and that slavery should be prohibited from all territory north of 36° 30° and west of the Mississippi. The measure passed both Houses, became a law in March, 1290, and has since bene known as the Missouri Compromise. It quieted for awhile the storm raised by the proviso, on which the Republicans took issue among themselves.

The last struggle on the Missouri Question was in 1821, when the state submitted its constitution to Congress for approval. The instrument contained a clause which excluded "free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this state under any pretext whatever." Congress required that this be so changed as to "guarantee to the citizens of every state the same rights in Missouri that they enjoyed at home." This condition was enacted by the Missouri legislature, and the state was admitted in August, 1821.

Preceding the discussion of the Missouri Question, slavery had not entered to a great extent as an element in politics, and now the discussion on the question was geographical rather than political. Those favoring the extension of slavery were mostly from slave states; the advocates of restriction were generally from the free states. At this time the opposition to the Republicans was twenty-seven in the Hones and seven in the Senate.

ELECTION of IS20.—In April, 1820, a call for a Republican nominating caucus was published by Samuel Smith, who had been chairman of the caucus in 1816. Pursuant to the call, on the following Saturday, fifty Republicans assembled in the House of Representatives, but owing to the absence of so many members and the general opposition to caucuses the assembly adjourned size die. There was no necessity for a nomination at this time, for "the people had preordained that Monroe and Tompkins were to be re-elected." Mr. Monroe received all the electoral votes but one, which was cast for John Q. Adams; Mr. Tompkins, all but fourteen, which were given to three other Republicans. The Federalists presented no candidates, because of their disorganized condition and the rapidity with which they were comminging with the Republican party.

REPUBLICANS UNOPPOSED.—The beginning of Monroe's second term closes the second era in our political history. Old party distinctions were obliterated and opinions on new issues were in a formative condition. In a few of the states where the Federal party had been strongest, its existence was nominally maintained for awhile, but it advocated no distinct issues of its own. Federallism was dismissed as an obsolete idea.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE was announced in a message to Congress, December 2d, 1823. The following words contain the principle involved: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the European powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This, with the accompanying reasons for the position taken, was a statement of the

doctrine that "America is for Americans," and exempified the policy of Washington—"No entangling alliances." Congress deemed the position necessary, but did not enforce it. The doctrine was called out by an attempt of the Holy Alliance to check liberty on both sides of the Altantic, and to extend a fostering care to the revolted Spanish provinces of Central and South America. When the protest of the United States was joined by England, the attempt of the allies was abandoned.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF.—A bill for reviving the tariff was passed during the first session of the Eighteenth Congress. The rote showed that since 1816 political changes had been made on the question. At that time the southern states voted for a protective tariff; now they voted against it. The navigating and the planting states opposed the bill, the former thinking it would be injurious to commerce, and the latter to agriculture. The grain-growing states favored the tariff, in the belief that it would be entil agriculture. The question was superior to all others during the session. Clay was champion of the protective system, and Webster of its opposition.

DEMOCRATIC.—Since the adoption of the term "Democratic" as an equivalent for "Republican," the popularity of the former had steadily increased as well as the frequency of its use in political literature.

ELECTION OF 1824 .- Jackson, Adams, and Clay, were nominated by state legislatures and other political machinery. Crawford was chosen by a caucus. This injured his prospects, for the caucus system had become so odious that the Republicans would unite on no man nominated in that way. Each candidate was a Republican. The canvass was exciting, but the considerations were local and personal rather than political, Republicanism being not at issue with any opposing measure. This quadrangular contest, known as the "scrub race," completely overthrew "king cancus" and failed to indicate a choice of the candidates; accordingly, it devolved upon the House to choose a President out of the three highest on the list-Jackson, Adams and Crawford. It rested upon Mr. Clay to decide which of these should administer the government. His position was so delicate and critical that no path was left him on which he could move without censure. He was equal to the task, and determined to vote for Mr. Adams, basing his objection to Mr. Crawford on the ground of ill health, and the circumstances under which he was before the Honse, and to General Jackson, on the fact that he was a military chieftain.

PEOPLE'S PARTY.—In the state of New York, at the fall of presidential electors. Some wished them to be chosen by the state legislatures; others, by the people. The latter portion developed into a political organization called the "People's Party."

MONIOF'S RETIREMENT was accompanied with the completion of the work undertaken at the beginning of his administration—that of converting his enemies into friends and of effecting a Republican fusion. His foreign policy had been excellently managed by John Q. Adams; commerce had recovered from its prostration by war and the embargo; domestic industry had revived; the Missouri Compromise had quieted apprehensions regarding a dissolution of the Union; and partisan feads had quieted into a condition of peace and harmony.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY, as pointed out at his inauguration, was the same as that of Monroe; but he did not doubt the power of Congress to authorize measures favoring internal improvements. In the selection of subordinates he endeavored to adopt a conclitatory course by appointing officers from the ranks of those who had been his opponents at the last election. Clay and Crawford were called to the cabinet; the latter declined

PERSISTENT OPPOSITION.—This course was not generally approved, no was it appreciated where generosity was bestowed. It was charged upon the President that his election was effected through a bargain with Mr. Clay. Though the accusation could not be proved, it promoted the interests in opposition to the administration. In the Nineteenth Congress the friends of Jackson and Crawford united to embarrass the measures of the President; and the first session of the Twentieth Congress, composed of partisans devoted mainly to the overthrow of the administration, was an organized opposition to every question upon which the President relied for approval by the people.

THE PAXAMA MISSION.—Commissioners from American nations were invited by Spanish-American republies to meet at Panama, in June, 1826, with a view to confederate against European despotism under the name of the Holy Alliance. Ambassadors were appointed, but failed to reach Panama. The bill in Congress, authorizing the mission, excited intemperate discussion and feelings of estrangement between the President and Senate. The debate brought in the slavery question, and ideas on the subject were advanced which were new to the members from the free states. It was claimed that slavery in the states was an independent institution, and that its owners were invested with inherent rights.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH GEORGIA, concerning the removal of the Creek Indians, occasioned a difficulty between that State and Federal authority. The governor advocated resistance to the general government, and a committee of the state legislature made a report suggesting a southern confederacy, thus starting the doctrine of rallification. This doctrine had originated with Jefferson and Monroe in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1708; was proclaimed by the Massachustts legislature in 1814; but it now appeared in a bolder form than ever before. It was fostered in Georgia during the administration, and strengthened by the tariff of 1828. Congress left the President to pursue his own course regarding the controversy. The question was not settled till the next administration.

REPUBLICAN PARTY DIVIDED.—The disaffection in the Republican ranks, which began at the election of Adams, increased till 1827, when the friends of Jackson and Crawford constituted an organized opposition to those of Adams and Clay. The following year each division became a distinct political party under a name of its own.

HIGH TARIFF OF 1828.—The duties, according to the tariff of 1824, were ad valorem. Importers would invoice their goods below their real value and thus defrand the retenue. To remedy this, the tariff was amended in 1828. Debate on the question continued for more than two months, and created great excitement, both in and out of Congress. In South Caro-

lina the measure was denounced in the strongest terms. Her citizens petitioned the legislature to "save them from the grasp of usurpation and poverty," occasioned by such a law. Daniel Webster and other prominent statesmen, who had hitherto opposed a protective tariff, now became its advocates.

ELECTION OF IS28.—"Simultaneously with the election of Mr. Adams in the House did the canvass for the succeeding election begin—General Jackson being the announced candidate on one side, and Mr. Adams on the other. These efforts, undertaken by the friends of the candidates, were soon seconded by the people. The legislature of Tennessee nominated General Jackson in October, 1825. Mr. Adams was nominated by the general assembly of Massachusetts. Additional nominations were made for each by conventions of friends. The cancus system had gone into disuse, and national conventions bad not been invented. The canvass was long and exciting. The merits and failings of each candidate were magnified in an unusual degree; but the hero of New Orleans was elected by an overwhelming majority.

THE ANTI-MASONIC PARTY.—William Morgan, a Royal Arch Mason, of Genesse county, New York, threatened to publish the secrets of Masonry. He was arrested for a debt of two dollars and thrown into [sil, from which he was taken by night to Port Ningara. He remained a short time at this place, and on the 29th of September, 1836, disappeared, and was never seen afterwards. Much excitement followed this event, for it was claimed that the Masons had put him to death clandestinely. The subject was taken into politics the following year, and the Anti-Masonic party was organized, which found adherents in all the principal towns and cities in the west. The principal object of the party was the exclusion from office of the supporters of Masonry.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY.—That division in the Republican party which supported Jackson and Crawford, abandoned, in 1828, the name of Republican and adopted the title of "Democratic," "as a novel, distinct and popular name." This marks the beginning of the modern Democratic party, though its adherents were generally called Jackson men till 1836. The Democrats, being close constructionists, claimed their organization to be a reformation and continuation of the real party of Jefferson.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.—The section of the Republican party which adhered to Adams as their candidate, retained the name "Republican," to which they prefixed the word "national" as an indication of the national character of Republicanism in contradistinction from the alleged sectional policy espoused by the Jackson party. The National Republicans adhered professedly to the faith of the Republican party, and claimed that their organization was a continuation of the party of Jefferson, Madison, Mornea and Adams. The National Republicans were broad constructionists.

OTHER MEASURES.—An attempt was made to amend the constitution respecting the election of President; a committee was appointed "to inquire into the expediency of reducing the patronage of the executive government;" resolutions on retrenchment and reform were introduced; and a bill was brought forward "to provide for the distribution of a part of the revenues of the United States among the several states." On these no conclusive results were reached.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS of General Jackson was highly Republican, and, so far as it contained expressions of opinion, was in accordance with the views of his four predecessors. To the position taken by the state of Georgia regarding federal and state authority, the President made no allusion; he promised, however, to take care not to confound the reserved powers of the separate states with those they had granted to the confederacy.

BANK.—The first annual message of the President showed that he questioned the constitutionality and expediency of the National Bank. His aversion to this institution, afterwards, received the sanction of his party.

REMOVALS.—President Jackson, while administering the government, removed 669 men from Federal offices, and filled the vacancies thus made with officials whose political views accorded with those of his own. The General, confident that could conduct the government better by the aid of his friends than by the assistance of his opponents, often remarked that he was "too old a soldier to leave his garrison in the hands of his enemies." This proscriptive policy was novel in politics, and was violently contested by the opposition.

WERSTER-HAVNE DEBATE,-In December, 1829, Mr. Foote, of Connecticut, introduced into the Senate a resolution, "inquiring into the expediency of suspending the sales of public lands." The debate which followed included within its range a variety of topics, among which was that of state rights. On this subject Mr. Havne, of South Carolina, spoke at great length, and took the position that the Federal government was not superior in authority to an individual state, and that his own state had the right to decide, on its own responsibility, a law of Congress to be unconstitutional. This startling doctrine now received the name of "nullification." Mr. Hayne declared the intention of South Carolina to interpose her protecting power against the Federal government, whenever the latter should attempt to enforce upon her a law which she deemed unconstitutional. Daniel Webster denied the legality of nullification, and entered into an extended argument favoring the supremacy of the Federal government. The part which he took in the discussion rendered him famous, and won for him the title of "Defender of the Constitution."

JACKSON AND CALHOUN.—Soon after the inanguration of General Jackson, at which he expressed himself in favor of one term, Mr. Cathoun began to lay plans which would enable him to become the General's successor. He secured the support of the Telegraph, the administration journal, and obtained the friendship of three cabinet officers. These, with his publications, sentiments, and intentions, produced a reupture between himself and the President, and occasioned a reorganization of the cabinet and the establishment of The Globe, a journal in the interests of the administration. The total renovation of the cabinet was freely denonneed by the opposition and the friends of Mr. Calhoun.

THE NULLIFICATION, OR CALHOUN PARTY.—In 1831, after the disruption of the cabinet, Mr. Calhoun began the work of forming a party of his own. He canvassed the states of South

Carolina and Georgia, endeayored to marshal the slave power against the administration, and proclaimed resistance to the tariff laws. Since nullification was the distinguishing doctrine which he tanght, his organization can be called the Nullification party.

LAND-PROCEEDS.—In 1832, an attempt was made to pass a law requiring that the proceeds from the sale of public lands be distributed among the states. It was not signed by the executive, but a bill, providing for the distribution of the surplus revenue among the states, originated in the Senate, and became a law. The distribution of the land-proceeds among the states was advocated by the National Republican and the Whig party.

"TO THE VICTORS BELONG THE SPOLIS," is a sentiment which originated with Wm. L. Marcy, a New York senator, while arguing, in 1839, for the nomination of Martin Van Buren as minister to England. It was adopted as a maxim into the Democratic party, and has constituted, since its atterance, the code for conducting the civil service of the United States. The National Republicans adopted a resolution condemning it.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS were sanctioned by the President in his approval of a bill which appropriated \$1,200,000 for the improvement of rivers, harbors, and roads; but he failed to sanction another measure of a similar nature, known as the 'harbor bill." The system was one of the leading issues of the National Republican and White parties. It was supported, at first, by a large number of Democrats, but with them it gradually decreased in pomplarity.

ATTEMPTED RECHARTER OF THE BANK.—A bill for renewing the charter of the National Bank was vetoed by the President in July, 1832.

THE TARIFF OF 1832 provided for a diminished rate per cent, on imports, and a considerable reduction of the revenue; but being an indorsement of the protective system, it met with opposition from the free-traders of South Carolina, and did not effect the conclination expected of it.

ELECTION OF 1832.—The Anti-Masonic party held at Philadelphia, September, 1830, the first national political convention that ever assembled in the United States. According to its recommendation, the party met in convention at Baltimore, September, 1831, and nominated William Wirt and Amos Ellmaker as their candidates. The National Republican party held a national convention in the same city, December 12, 1831. Henry Clay and John Sergeant were nominated by a unanimous vote. No platform was adopted till the following May, at a ratification meeting held in Washington, when resolutions were adopted favoring a protective tariff, internal improvements, and opposing the President's "removals," his abuse of power, and the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." The Democratic national convention assembled at Baltimore in May, 1832, renominated General Jackson for President, and selected Martin Van Buren for Vice-President. Preceding the vote for the latter, it was resolved "that two-thirds of the whole number of the votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice." This was the origin of the famons two-thirds rule. No platform of principles was adopted. The Nullification candidate was John C. Calhoun, nominated by the legislature of South Carolina. No one was indicated for the second office, and the person of the candidate was deemed sufficient without a promulgation of principles. General Jackson was re-elected, having received 21g electoral votes out of 31g.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—In 1833 the National Anti-Slavery Society was formed, as a result of the great interest awakened on the question of slavery two years before. Many auxiliary societies were organized throughout the northern states. The subject was openly and freely discussed; antislavery newspapers were soon established, and anti-slavery mail was circulated in the southern states. The opponents of slavery were called Abolitionists.

NULLIFICATION ORDINANCE .- Immediately after the tariff of 1832 was enacted, the congressmen of South Carolina issued an address denouncing the law, and asserting that it decreased duty on unprotected articles, and increased it on those protected. In November (1832), a convention of the people of South Carolina, acting under authority of the legislature. adopted an ordinance which declared the tariff act null and void. This was followed by a proclamation from the President, in which he pronounced against the actions of South Carolina. expounded the constitution according to the views of Webster, and expressed his determination to execute the laws of the United States. This famous proclamation accorded with the views of the people in all sections of the Union except the southern states. In South Carolina it was characterized as "the edict of a dictator." The governor urged the people to protect the liberty of the state, and Congress empowered the President to employ the forces necessary to insure the collection of the revenue. Virginia at this juncture offered her mediation.

THE TARIFF OF 1833 was a compromise measure, brought forward by Mr. Clay to prevent the destruction of the tariff policy, to avert a civil war, and to restore peace to the country. It provided for a gradual reduction of duties till June, 1842, and put to rest the spirit of nullification.

REMOVAL OF DEPOSITS .- The law of 1816, establishing the National Bank, ordered that the public moneys should be deposited in the vaults, and empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to remove the funds when necessary, provided he would lay before Congress his reasons for so doing. During the recess of Congress, the President determined that the revenue collectors should cease to deposit the revenues in the Bank, and that the funds remaining therein should be used to meet the current expenses of the government till the amount should be exhausted. This was termed a removal of the deposits, since it produced that result. In September, 1833, the President directed the Secretary of the Treasury to issue the necessary order. On his refusal to do so, Roger B. Taney was appointed in his stead, and, complying with the direction of the President, he designated certain banks as depositories. This act of the President was censured by the entire opposition and many of his political friends. It created great excitement throughout the country.

STATE BANKS.—When the Bank ceased to be the place for depositing the public moneys, the Democrats favored the use of state banks as depositories; this the Whigs opposed, and advocated the establishment of a sub-treasury.

SUB-TREASURY.—During the agitation in Congress over the bank question, a plan was proposed providing that the public

moneys be placed in the custody of certain faithful agents appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The scheme was subsequently denominated the "sub-treasury." It was advocated by the opposition during Jackson's administration.

THE WHIG PARTY.—The intense political excitement occasioned by the removal of the "deposits," gave rise to a reconstruction of parties, which resulted in the formation of the Whig party. It was composed of the National Republicans, the Anti-Masons, most of the nulliflers, and many Democrats who denounced what they deemed the high-handed measures of the executive. [See D.]

LOCOFOCOS.—In 1835, in the city and county of New York, a portion of the Democrats organized themselves into the "Equal Rights" party. Having convened in Tammany Hall to overslaugh the proceedings of the Democratic nominating committee, they presented a chairman in opposition to the one supported by the regular Democrats. When neither party could secure the election of its chairman, the committee, in the midst of the greatest confusion, extinguished the lights. The Equal Rights men immediately relighted the room with candles and locofoco matches, with which they had provided themselves. From this they received the name of Locofocos, a designation, which was, for a time, applied to the Democratic party by the opposition.

ANTI-SLAVERY MAIL.—The executive, in 1835, recommended to Congress the passage of a law suppressing the circulation, by mail, of anti-slavery publications in the southern states. The Whigs opposed the law on the ground that it invaded the sanctity of private correspondence.

TEXAS.—In 1836 the United States acknowledged the independence of Texas. Anti-slavery men opposed the measure.

RIGHT OF PETITION.—A society of Friends, in 1836, petitioned Congress to remove slavery from the District of Columbia. This was followed by excited discussion concerning the right of petition. Pro-slavery men argued that petitions for the abolition of slavery should not be received.

SPECIE CIRCULAR.—To prevent the accumulation of paper money in the treasury, the President issued his "specie circular," which required the treasure to receive only gold and silver in payment for lands sold. A great revulsion in business followed, and an excitement second only to that occasioned by the removal of the deposits.

ELECTION OF 1836 .- The Democratic party, in national convention at Baltimore, May, 1835, confirmed the two-thirds rule, and, without adopting a platform, nominated Martin Van Buren and R. M. Johnson. The Locofocos held a counter convention in 1836, and adopted a declaration of principles. [See D. and Pl.] At a Whig convention, held at Albany, New York, and composed of delegates from that state only, William H. Harrison and Francis Granger were nominated. Resolutions favoring Harrison and opposing Van Buren were adopted. No principles were asserted. The Anti-Masons, who had not identified themselves with the Whigs, confirmed, in convention, the ticket selected at Albany. This nomination met with approval from Whig state conventions, but not without exceptions. Daniel Webster, H. L. White and William Smith were also candidates. This lack of unity weakened the efforts of the Whigs, and injured their chances of success. Van Buren was chosen by a mere popular majority.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

VAN BUREN'S POLICY.—The eighth President adopted the line of policy pursued by his predecessor.

PANIC OF '37.—The measures adopted to dispense with the U.S. Bank and to render gold and silver the medium of exchange occasioned a financial panic, which reached a crisis in May, 1837. During this month the banks of New York suspended specie payment. Other banks followed their example; commercial distress, depreciation of property and prostration of business ensued. The calamity was attributed to the policy of the President. He was urged to repeal the "specie circular" and call an

EXTRA SESSION of Congress.—This, with the clogging of certain business in the treasury department, occasioned by the suspension of banks, induced the executive to issue a proclamation, calling Congress together on the 4th of September, 1837. The President's message contained statements which assigned causes for the monetary panic, not connected with his financial policy. Refusing to reached "the speede circular," he recommended, as a substitute for the state banks, an independent or a

SUB-TREASURY.—The bill for the establishment of this institution was opposed by the Whigs in a body, and by a portion of the Democrats who were called "conservatives." The measure was lost by the vote in the House. The sub-treasury bill was before Congress at the next regular session, when it met the same fate as at first; but in 1840 it passed both branches of Congress and became a law.

STATE BANK DEPOSITORIES.—The Whigs, during Jackson's administration, opposed the use of state banks as depositories for government funds, and favored a sub-treasury; but when the latter scheme was recommended by Yan Buren, the Whigs threw all their influence against it, and preferred the continuance of state banks as depositories to the use of a sub-treasury for the same purpose. This was justified by the plea, that the frequency of changes in government policy was more injurious than the "intrinsic defects of any particular plan of finance." The Democrats, combating the position of the Whigs on the subject, were involved in similar inconsistencies. They changed grounds on the two issues simultaneously with the Whigs.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—A proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States was brought forward in the Senate (1838). After some discussion the subject was laid on the table. The annexation was a Democratic measure.

RIGHT OF PETITION.—The excitement over the right of petition, which began in Jackson's administration, was continued through that of Van Buren. Resolutions against the reception of petitions adverse to slavery were introduced in Congress from time to time. In 1838, Mr. Atherton reported a series of resolutions, which closed with the provision "that overy petition, or paper, in any way relating to slavery, as aforesaid, should, on presentation, without further action thereon, be laid on the table without being debated or referred." This was adopted as a rule, and met with persistent opposition.

ABOLITION PARTY.—The measures taken to suppress petitions were so exacting that a strong public sentiment in the north was excited in favor of the opponents of slavery. This sentiment grew in strength, and aided the Abolitionists, till November, 1839, when, at Warsaw, New York, they organized the Abolition party.

LIBERTY PARTY.—The organization known as the Abolition party was perfected in 1840, and from that time was called the Liberty party. It made inroads upon both Democrats and Whigs.

ELECTION OF 1840,-In November, 1839, when the Abolitionists organized their party, they nominated James G. Birney and Francis J. Lemoyne. These gentlemen declined the candidature; but the organization, the following year, under the name of Liberty party, nominated James G. Birney and Thomas Earle. The Whig national convention, at Harrisburg, Dec. 4, 1839, nominated William H. Harrison and John Tyler. No platform was adopted. These selections were hailed with satisfaction. At Baltimore, on the 5th of May, 1840, the Democratic national convention unanimously nominated Mr. Van Buren for President, and left to the states the nomination of a Vice-President. They adopted a platform which set forth their principles in plain terms. [See Diagram.] The canvass was unusually interesting. The object of the Whigs was the defeat of Van Buren and the overthrow of his policy. They had no platform to support, and made no attempts to defend accusations against their candidates: hence their line of action was on the offensive. They brought all their forces to bear against the President's financial policy, the adoption of the sub-treasury scheme, the suspension of internal improvements, the extravagant expenditures of the Seminole war, and the re-election of a President for a second term. General Harrison's military reputation won for him what the same possession won for General Jackson. Van Buren's administration was held responsible for the unfortunate condition of the country, and but little enthusiasm could be aroused in his behalf. General Harrison was elected by a large majority, having received 234 electoral votes to 60 cast for Mr. Van Buren. This canvass was known as the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign."

DIVORCE OF BANK AND STATE.—The prominent characteristic of this administration is termed "the completion of the divorce of bank and state"—a policy which existed just long enough to prostrate the party which brought it into being.

HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

WHIG PARTY IN POWER.—At the inauguration of General Harrison, the Whigs obtained control of the government. His address upon that occarion contained sentiments adverse to executive interference with Congress, to a currency exclusively metallic, to the dependence of the treasury upon the executive department, and to anti-slavery societies in the free states.

THE DEATH OF HARRISON occurred on the 4th of April,

TYLER'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS sanctioned General Harrison's calling of an extra session of Congress, and "announced the determination of the executive to carry out the will of the people in the election of his predecessor."

A LIMITED VETO power was advocated by General Harrison in his inaugural address, and became one of the issues of this party. Especial emphasis was placed upon it by the Whigs after the break with Mr. Tyler.

SUB-TREASURY.—A bill for the repeal of the sub-treasury passed Congress by a large vote in its favor, and became a law before difficulties occurred between the President and the Whigs. It prolibited any offser lawing charge of public revenue from investing the fund, or devoting it to his own use.

A NATIONAL BANK.—The called session of Congress convened on the 31st of May, 1841. To that body Mr. Tyler submitted a formal message, setting forth the necessity of enacting measures which would afford speedy relief to the embarrassed condition of the treasury. He took no definite position on the subject of a bank, but announced his intention of concurring with the wish of Congress on the question, and expressed the hope that some suitable fiscal agency would be devised. In compliance with the desire of Mr. Tyler, the Secretary of the Treasury submitted to Congress a plan of a bank, which specified that the institution should be called "The Fiscal Bank of the United States." A bill, according with this plan, passed Congress, and was transmitted to the President, who returned it with a veto message. This was surprising, and, under the circumstances, inexplicable, to the Whigs. Having learned from a deputation what kind of measure the executive would approve (as was understood), Congress framed and passed a bill which was deemed in harmony with his views; but it was vetoed (Sept. 9) six days after it passed the Senate.

RUPTURE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE WHIGS.—When this bill was veto-ed, all the members of Tyler's cabinet resigned, except Mr. Webster. At the close of the session seventy Whigs signed a manifeto, declaring that, "from that day forth all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end." THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY was organized in 1843, and operated principally in large cities. The organization was occasioned by the great inflow of foreigners to the city of New York, and had for its leading objects opposition to Catholicism and the election to office of men born in a foreign country. Its adherents were generally called "Natives."

HUNKERS AND BARNBURNERS.—In 1848, the Democrats in the legislature of New York divided on minor questions, one faction receiving the name of "iliberals." The breach thus beginning began to widen till alienation between the factions became complete. Several years passed before a name was given to each division. In Polk's administration, the "iliberals" were called "Barnburners," and the other wing "Hunkers.

ELECTION OF 1844 .- In August, 1843, the Liberty party met in national convention at Buffalo, New York, and designated James G. Birney and Thomas Morris as their candidates. A platform containing twenty-five resolutions was adopted. [See D. and Pl.] The Whig party assembled at Baltimore, in national convention, May 1, 1844. Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuy sen were nominated. The ticket was received with enthusiasm and great expectations of success. A brief platform was adopted. [See D. and Pl.] The national convention of the Democratic party, held at Baltimore May 27, 1844, nominated James K. Polk and Silas Wright. The latter declined the nomination, and George M. Dallas was subsequently selected. The platform of 1840 was reaffirmed, to which three additional resolutions were appended. [See D. and Pl.] Mr. Tyler was nominated by a convention of office-holders; but finding that the movement did not meet with popular support, he withdrew in favor of Mr. Polk. Mr. Polk united the Democratic party. so that it presented a strong front to its opponents, among whom there was a lack of harmony. Many Whigs at the north were hostile to the annexation of Texas and the system of slavery. while their ultra members at the south were in favor of both. From the former the Liberty ticket received considerable support, and from the latter the Democratic candidates received a large vote. The campaign closed, to the great disappointment of the Whigs, with the election of Messrs. Polk and Dallas, These received 170 electoral votes; the Whigs, 105.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—Mr. Tyler, in a message (December, 1843), annonneed his desire of effecting a penceable union between Texas and the United States. The measure was advocated by the Democrats and opposed by the Whigs; though some anti-slavery men of the former and a few pro-slavery men of the latter, did not, on this question, vote with their party. The bill providing for the annexation was signed by the executive on the last day of his official life.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

POLK'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS expressed views consonant with the platform of his party. He called especial attention to the

ANKEXATION OF TEXAS.—The resolutions passed at the close of Typic sadministration provided that the people of Texas should ratify the action of Congress before their state could become a member of the Union. When news of this action eached Mexico, the government of that country directed that diplomatic relations with the United States should cease, and offered to acknowledge the independence of Texas if the state would maintain a separate existence. The Congress of Texas convened on the 16th of June, 1815, and their President laid before them the resolutions of the United States Congress and the proposal of Mexico. The Texan legislators accepted the offer of amexation, and on the 4th of the following July, their action being ratified by a convention of the people, Texas was added to the territory of the Union, and became a state on the 27th of the next December.

MEXICAN WAR.—The President, in a special message, announced that war existed by the act of Mexico, appealed to Congress to recognize the same, and asked that money be placed at his disposal to carry on the war. This placed in an unpleasant position the congressmen who had opposed annexation; but sectional pride induced a majority of them to support the administration, though some would not indorse the declaration that the war existed "by the act of the republic of Mexico."

WILMOT PROVISO.—While hostilities were pending, Mr. Polk (August 4th, 1846), asked for an appropriation which would enable him to negotiate a peace and purchase a section of Mexican territory, provided he should find such accession expedient or desirable. Accordingly, a bill, appropriating \$3,000,000 for the purposes designated, was brought forward in the House of Representatives and put on its passage. At this stage, on motion of David Wilmot, a proviso was annexed to the bill, which prohibited slavery in the territory which should be acquired. This provision, after the name of its originator, was called the Wilmot proviso. It falled to become a law, though it was favored by the Whigs, and by a number of the dominant party, who were called Wilmot proviso Democrats.

THE SUB-TREASURY act, which had been repealed by the Whigs, was re-enacted during the first session of the 29th Congress. This vote established the sub-treasury as a permanent institution of the country, and closed agitation on the subject.

TARIFF.—In 1846, after repealing the tariff of 1842, a law was enacted providing for a tariff for the purpose of revenue only. The Democratic party rejected the principles of protection in their legislation on this subject.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—President Polk withheld his signature from two bills, making appropriations for internal improvements. The public mind and a majority of Congress did not agree with the executive on the subject. The views of the former were expressed in conventions, and those of the latter by resolutions favoring the system.

OREGON.—Party lines on the Oregon question were drawn on the subject of the northern boundary. Members of the Liberty party advocated 54° of as the dividing line, and asked the advocates of the annexation of Texas to favor this boundary with the same zeal they had manifested in their support of this Grande as the southern limit of Texas. The administration

party thought difficulty with England could be avoided by consenting to the 49th parallel as our northern boundary.

LIBERTY LEAGUE.—The members of the Liberty party did not always act in harmony. In 1845, a state convention of men belonging to the Liberty party was held at Fort Byron, New York. An address was printed, though not adopted, containing sentiments which met with the approval of many of the Liberty party. These men, in 1847, held a convention at Macoon, New York, nominated a Presidential ticket, consisting of Gerrit Smith and Elihu Burritt, separated entirely from their party, and took the name of Liberty League. They maintained that slavery was unconstitutional, and had for their watchword, "Duty is ours, results are God's."

NOMINATIONS FOR THE CANVASS OF 1848.—In October, 1847, the Liberty party, in national convention, at Buffalo, put in nomination John P. Hale and Leicester King. The Liberty League and dissatisfied members of the Liberty party met at Auburn, New York, January, 1848, renominated Gerrit Smith, and, Mr. Burritt having declined, selected C. C. Foote (Mich.), as candidate for Vice-President. The extreme views held by the League prevented it from developing popular strength. The Democratic convention was held at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. Two delegations appeared from New York, the Hnnkers (for Dickinson) and the Barnburners (for Van Buren). After an exciting debate, both factions were admitted, with power to cast jointly the vote of the state. The decision being unsatisfactory, the former refused to participate in the proceedings, and the latter withdrew under protest. Generals Lewis Cass (Mich.) and William O. Butler (Ky.) were nominated. This selection became acceptable to the Hunkers, who, during the year, were merged into the regular Democratic ranks. The convention adopted a platform containing twenty-three resolutions, seven of which were taken from the platform of 1844. [See D. and Pl.] The Whig national convention, at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, nominated General Zachary Taylor (La.) and Millard Fillmore (N. Y.) Owing to conflicting opinions on theslavery question no platform was adopted, but on the 9th of June, at a ratification meeting in the same city, seven resolutions were agreed upon, all commendatory of General Taylor. The subject of slavery was not mentioned.

FREE-SOIL PARTY.—When the Barnburners retired from convention at Baltimore, they issued a call for a state convention, to be held at Utica. The delegates, on the 22d of June, nominated Martin Van Buren (N. Y.) and Henry Dodge (Wis.), and called upon the opponents of slave extension to meet in national convention at Buffalo on the 9th of August. At the appointed time, delegates convened from a few of the slave states and from most all the free states. The Liberty party withdrew its own candidates and joined in the proceedings. A new party was organized which received the title of "Free-Soil," a name taken from a resolution in the placeform of principles. Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams were chosen as candidates, General Dodge having resigned. [See D. and Pl.]

THE CANVASS OF 1848 showed that the Democrats and didates on the slavery question. Cass was distrusted by the former, and Taylor by the latter. The Whig candidates were elected, having received 163 votes, against 127 cast for Cass and Butler.

TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

TAXLOR'S POLICY.—The President decided to conduct his administration free from the influence of pro-slavery advocates, and appealed for support to certain statesmen who accorded with his views on the extension of slavery. Senator Seward responded, and becare the executive's confidential counselor.

GOVERNMENT FOR THE MEXICAN CESSION.—In December, 1849, Congress began legislation for the establishment of government over the territory acquired from Mexico. The subject of slavery rendered the task a difficult one. When several plans had been submitted without success, Mr. Clay (Jam. 10, 1850,) introduced eight resolutions as compromises for adjusting the entire controversy on slavery. They met with opposition from pro-slavery members, on the ground that they did not secure sufficient advantage to the south.

OWNIBUS BILL.—The debate on the resolutions continued four mouths, when (April 17th) a select committee of the Senate, headed by Mr. Clay, reported a bill, consisting of thirty-nine sections, and reproducing most of the resolutions which had been discussed. This was a consolidation of all past 'recompromises on the question of slavery,' and, owing to the variety of topics embraced, was called the Omnibus bill. This was debated and amended in the Senate till the last day of July, when it passed, having been pruned till it provided only for the territorial government of Utah. In this condition it was sent to the House. The Omnibus bill, as a whole, was rejected, but its main heads were passed in August, as separate bills, and were designated the

COPPROMISE MEASURES OF 1850.—These consisted of bills providing (1) for the organization of Utah and New Mexico into territories without reference to slavery; (2) for the admission of \$10,000,000 for her claim to New Mexico; (4) for the return of persons escaping from the service of their masters; and (5) for obolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The compromises were received by the leaders of the two great parties as a final settlement of the vexed questions which troubled Congress and agitated the country, but the storm was only temporarily allayed.

FILLMORE'S ACCESSION AND SECESSION.—Mr. Fillmore was inaugurated on the 10th of July, 1850. He departed from the policy of his deceased predecessor, organized a new eatinet, used his influence in favor of the compromise measures, did not comply with the Whig platform of his state, acted in opposition to his own political antecedents, and wished, it is thought, to form a compromise party, of which he should be the head. Though not harmonizing with the Whig party, he did not go so far as to enter the Democratic ranks.

SILVER GRAY PARTY.—In September, 1850, the Whig state convention of New York met at Syraense, with Francis Granger as chairman. When resolutions were under consideration, Mr. Cornwell moved that the convention adopt a series of resolutions perpeared by himself, instead of those reported by for committee. One of his resolutions declared that W. H. Seward deserved the thanks of the convention for the fidelity with which he had sustained, in the Senate, the liberal and long cherished principles of the Whig party. Upon this, Mr. Duer, a member of Congress, and a follower of the President, declared

that if the resolutions of Mr. Cornwell were adopted, the Whig party of New York, from that moment, would be broken up, and that the future would determine where he and his friends would go. Mr. Cornwell's resolutions were adopted. The delegates who opposed them, among whom was the chairman, then withdrew and convened in another building, where they called a convention of the President's friends, to meet at Utica on the 17th of October. The delegates met pursuant to the call, separated from the Whigs, organized a party, and adopted for it the title of "Silver Gray." The party approved the compromise measures and the policy of the President, and assumed the responsibility of preserving the Union. This is the party, it is thought, which Mr. Filmore wished to form when he ceased to act with the Whigs.

THE AMERICAN PARTY was organized in 1852, with the professed object of purifying the ballot box, excluding from office those of foreign birth, and opposing the efforts to reject the Bible from the public schools. It operated secretly and with astonishing success. Its members were sworn to support the candidates put in nomination by the order. At first it selected candidates from all political parties. The organization was generally called the Know-Nothing party, because, when questioned concerning their order, the members answered that they knew nothing.

ELECTION OF 1852.—The Democratic national convention, at Baltimore, June 1, 1852, nominated Frauklin Pierce (N. H.) and Wm. R. King (Ala.). These candidates were pledged to support the compromises of 1850. The platform contained lwenty resolutions.

In the same city, on the 16th of June, the national convenion of Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott (Va.) and Wm. A. Graham (N. C.) The platform adopted consisted of eight resolutions. The two leading conventions took the same position on the subject of slavery.

The Free Soil party, at Pittsburg, August 11th, 1892, in national convention, nominated John P. Hale (N. H.) and George W. Julian (Ind.). This party did not expect to secure any electoral votes, but acted in the hope that its principles, in time, might enter the other parties, and sever the connection between the government and slavery. The platform contained twenty-two resolutions. [See D. and Pl.]

The Democrats were a unit upon their platform; most of them who had supported Van Buren in 1848, returned to the old party, and voted for Mr. Pierce.

The Whigs could not conduct a vigorous canvass, owing to the indifference with which their platform was supported. At the election they were completely routed. Mr. Pierce received 254 electoral votes out of the 296 cast in the college of that year.

DISSOLUTION OF THE WHIG PARTY.—Before the canvass of 1852, the Whigs avoided making the question of slavery a political issue. The compromises contained the Fugitive Slave bill, and other features which were offensive to the mass of northern Whigs, and when their platform sanctioned the measures, the party divided against itself, and, without power for good or evil, became as dead "for all the purposes of a political campaign." After the election, the members of the party began to look elsewhere for political affiliation, and, in time, entered such organizations as met their approval.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

PIERCE'S POLITICAL FAITH.—Mr. Pierce stated that he believed involuntary servitude was recognized by the constitution, and that the compromise measures should be carried into effect.

KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.—In January, 1854, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, reported a bill to organize the territory of Nebraska, afterwards divided into Kansas and Nebraska, with a provision for the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. The citizens of the territories, if they wished slavery, could "rote it ap;" if not, they could "rote it down." The bill was advocated by the Democratic party, which, being, in the asendency in both Houses, carried the measure without difficulty. The Free-Soil party and the Anti-Slavery Whigs contested the movement at every step. Since 1820, from all the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 38° 30°, slavery had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise; now that vast region was devoted to slavery, if the citizens should so elect. The bill opened the whole slavery question anew, and produced a general and strong excitement.

TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE .- As soon as Kansas was organized, strennous endeavors were made by pro-slavery partisans to people the territory in the interest of slavery, while vigorous efforts were put forth in the northern states to colonize the territory with citizens who would vote for a free state. The election for a delegate to Congress came off on the 29th of November, 1854. Armed persons from Missouri entered the territory, and, voting for their favorite candidate, procured his election. On the 30th of March, 1855, occurred the election for members of the first legislature. Between four and five thousand armed Missourians invaded the territory and controlled the election. Owing to fraudulent voting, Governor Reeder called for another election in six of the districts. The Missonrians now appeared and voted in one precinct-in the others, the citizens enjoyed their political rights. When the legislature assembled at Pawnee (July 2d, 1855), the seats of the members chosen at the second election were contested, except those from the precinct in which the Missourians voted. Subsequently every contested member was rejected, the certificates of the governor being disregarded. The legislature thus organized removed the seat of government to the Shawnee Mission, and began the work of enacting laws. Governor Reeder, thinking that the administration would support him, refused to recognize this legis-

TOPEKA CONSTITUTION.—At a meeting of the inhabitants of Kansa (August 15th, 1855), resolutions were adopted which resulted in an election of members of a convention to form a state constitution. The delegates assembled at Topeka (October 25th, 1855), and prepared a free-state constitution, which was ratified by the people in the following December. The election for state officers under this constitution was held January 15th, 1856. The state legislature, chosen at this election, met on the 4th of March, and after organizing, adjourned till the 4th of July. There were now in Kansas two legislatures—one favoring and the other opposing shavery.

KANSAS WAR.—Civil war in Kansas, between pro-slavery and free-state men, continued during Pierce's administration.

LEGISLATION FOR KANSAS.—In January, 1886, the President sent a message to Congress, indooring the teoritorial legislature, and "representing the formation of the Free-State government as an act of rebellion." The Senate committee on territories presented a majority report supporting this legislature; a minority report took antugonistic grounds. A select committee was appointed to visit Kansas and investigate the alliged frauds. The committee accomplished its work, and made a majority report, declaring that the territorial legislature was an illegally constituted body, and that the Topcka constitution embodied the will of a majority of the people. A bill to admit Kansas as a free state under this constitution was passed in the House, but falled in the Senate.

ANTI-NERRASKA.—The repeal of the Missouri Compromise produced a simultaneous uprising of the people of the free states in opposition to the measure, and under the common designation of "Anti-Nebraska," "Fusion" and "People's party" were other names of this temporary combination. It was comprosed of dissatisfied Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, and members of the

REPUBLICAN PARTY.-The proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise (1854) was regarded as an assault upon freedom, and produced earnest discussion from the pulpit, the platform, and the press. Large numbers of Anti-Slavery men. belonging to the different parties, soon decided that their success could be secured only "through the formation of a new party which could act without the embarrassment of a pro-slavery wing." The first movement towards the organization of such a party was during the early months of 1854, in Wisconsin, at Ripon, Fond du Lac county. At the call of Mr. A. E. Bovey, a meeting was held on the last of February, which adopted the resolution that if the Kansas-Nebraska bill should pass, they would "throw old party organizations to the winds, and organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery." On the 20th of March another meeting was held, at which Mr. Boyev expressed the thought that the party would probably take the name of "Republican." The organization of this party was perfected for the state, by a convention held the following July. The Detroit Tribune "took ground in favor of dishanding the Whig and Free-Soil parties, and of the organization of a new party, composed of all the opponents of slavery extension.' This was followed, in Michigan, by a mass convention, which met on the 6th of July, adopted a platform opposing the extension of slavery, and assumed for the new party the name of "Republican." This action preceded the organization of the party in other portions of the country. During the year 1854, in those states whose elections furnished opportunity, the new party was organized, or a fusion ticket was supported by Anti-Nebraska partisans. In several states the Republican party was not organized till 1855. From a small beginning it increased rapidly in numbers, and, meeting with encouraging success at state elections, it gradually drew into its fold all those who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Thus, by the fusion of Free-Soilers, Whigs, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Anti-Slavery Americans, was organized the Republican

ELECTION OF 1836.—The Americans, in 1856, considering hemselves sufficiently strong to run candidates of their own, met in convention at Philadelphia, February 22d, selected as candidates Millard Fillmore (N. Y.) and Andrew J. Donelson (Penn.), and adopted a platform of sixteen resolutions. The minority, having rejected the platform, seceded, and calling themselves North AMERICANS, held a national convention at New York City, June 12th, 1856, and nominated N. P. Banks (Mass.) and W. F. Johnson (Penn.) These gentlemen declining, the North Americans determined to unite with the Republicans in supporting Fremont and Dayton. At Cincinnati, June 2d, 1856, the Democratic party nominated James Buchanan (Penn.) and John C. Breckluridge (Ky.). The Republican nominating convention was held at Philadelphia June 17th, 1856. John C.

Fremont (Cal.) and William L. Dayton (N. J.) were unanimously chosen as candidates. A declaration of principles, containing eight resolutions, was adopted. The Silver Grays, and other Whigs who had not associated themselves with the influential parties, met in national convention at Baltimore, September 17th, 1856, indorsed the American ticket, and in a platform of eight resolutions, gave their reasons for supporting Mr. Fillmore. Thus was completed the disintegration of the Whig party. Its pro-slavery members had joined the Democrats; its opponents of slavery, the Republicans; and now its remaants, opposing geographical parties, were absorbed by the Americans. The contest lay between Buchana, Fremont, and Fillmore. Mr. Buchanan was elected, but he lacked 377,629 votes of obtaining a popular majority over his opponents.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION was made two days after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan. The case was originally one of assault and battery. Dred Scott, a Missouri slave, was taken by his master to Illinois in 1834, then to Minnesota territory in 1838, and thence back to Missouri. Here, having been whipped for some offense, he sued for damages, claiming that he obtained his freedom by residing upon free soil, and, therefore, being a citizen, he had a right to sue in court. The Circuit Court decided in his favor. The Supreme Court of the State having reversed the decision, the case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where Chief Justice Taney decided that slaves, or the descendants of those who had been sold into slavery, had no right to sue in a court of the United States; that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional; and that because slaves were property, Congress had no right to prohibit the carrying of them into any state or territory. This decision startled the free states, and was not satisfactory to many northern Democrats.

THE LECONPTON CONSTITUTION was formed for Kansas, Sept. 4th, 1857, by a pro-slavery convention, which had been authorized by the territorial legislature. It was submitted to the people, who were to vote "Constitution with Shavery," or, "Constitution without Slavery." The Free-State men, by this regulation, not being allowed to vote against the constitution, refused to take part in the election. The constitution with slavery was adopted. At a new election (Jan. 4th, 1859, ordered by the territorial legislature, the instrument was rejected by a vote of 10,000. This election was regarded as illegal by those who favored the constitution, and the question was submitted to Congress by the President. Legislation upon the subject resulted in the

ENGLISH BILL, which submitted the Lecompton Constintion to the people of Kansas, with the promise that large grants of lands would be given the state if the constitution were adopted. The bill became a law, but the constitution was rejected by a majority of 9,513 (August, 1859).

WYANDOT CONSTITUTION.—In 1859, the territorial legislature called an election for delegates to meet and form a consti-

tution. They assembled in convention at Wyandot, in July, and prepared a constitution prohibiting slavery. When submitted to the people, it was adopted by a majority of 4,000. Under this constitution Kansas was admitted in 1861.

JOHN BROWN'S RAID was an unsuccessful attempt (1859) made at Harper's Ferry, Va., to incite the slaves to insurrection, with a view to their liberation. It created wild alarm in the south, and brought on bitter discussion between the friends and opponents of slavery.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.—The American party, owing to the unpopularity of the principles upon which it was founded, went out of existence in Buchanan's administration. Its successor, the Constitutional Union party, was organized in 1860. It failed to develop much strength, and was more influential in the southern than in the northern states.

ELECTION OF 1860.—The convention of the Constitutional Unionists met at Baltimore on the 9th of May, and nominated John Bell (Tenn.) and Edward Everett (Mass.). Their platform contained but one resolution. [See Platforms.]

The Republican national convention assembled at Chicago, on the 16th of May, and nominated Abraham Lincoln (III.), and Hannibal Hamlin (Me.). The platform, consisting of seventeen resolutions, was adopted with great enthusiasm. [See D. and Pl.]

The Democratic national convention met on the 28d of April, in the city of Charleston, every state being represented. The committee on resolutions presented a majority and two minority reports. After an exciting debate, the principal minority report was adopted. This imposed upon the perty a platform which caused the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and portions from Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, and North Carolina, Atkansas, and North Carolina, but fifty-seven having been cast without selecting a candidate, the convention adjourned, to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June. Those who had withdrawn decided to meet in Richmond on the 18th of June. On reassembling at Baltimore, it was found that from several states there were contesting delegations. The subject was referred to the committee

on credentials, which made three reports. The convention having adopted the majority report, the entire delegations of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, California, and Delaware. and parts of Maryland, Kentneky, and Massachusetts, withdrew, Stephen A. Douglas (Ill.) and Herschel V. Johnson (Ga.) were then nominated. The Democratic platform of 1856 was adopted, with seven explanatory resolutions. [See D. and Pl. The delegates who had withdrawn met at the Maryland Institute (June 28), and nominated John C. Breckinridge (Ky.) and Joseph Lane (Or.). The Democratic platform of 1856 was reaffirmed, with six explanatory resolutions. [See D. and Pl.] The convention which assembled at Richmond adopted this ticket and platform. The Democratic party was now dismembered. A heated canvass followed these nomina. tions. Mr. Lincoln was elected, though he lacked nearly a million votes of receiving a popular majority.

SECESSION.—When the election of Lincoln was ascertained, the South Carolina legislature called a convention to consider the necessity of immediate secession, and southern members

began to resign their seats in Congress. The President denied the right of a state to secede, but did not believe the government had the constitutional power to prevent it. South Carolina seceded Dec. 20, 1860. The next month, Mississippi, Florida. Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana passed ordinances of secession. Texas withdrew on the first of February. Three days afterwards (Feb. 4), delegates from these states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized the Confederate States of America. When a state withdrew, it seized the forts, arsenals. and other Federal property within its limits. Several attempts at conciliation were made in Congress, but certain members declared that "the day for compromises had passed." The long contest for the balance of power between "Slavery Extension" and "Slavery Restriction" was now culminating in war. The supremacy of the south was lost, "Disunion was the only remedy, and this could be obtained only through war." Political distinctions were in a measure obliterated, and this administration closed, not on contentions between the Republican and Democratic parties, but on a conflict between Union and Secession

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

INAUGURATION.—Notwithstanding the secession of some of the southern states and the apprehensions of a violent resistance to the inauguration, the eeremony was brilliant and impressive. In his inaugural address, the President declared that "no state, on its own mere motion, could lawfully leave the Union;" and that he should "take care that the laws were faithfully executed in all the states." He also assured the south that he had no purpose to meddle with their domestic affairs.

PARTY ADJUSTMENTS.—The Constitutional Union party dissolved soon after the election of Lincoln. Some of its members entered the Democratic party, others the Republican; but a large portion of them became Confederates. The Breckinridge Democrates of the south entered the confederacy; those of the north joined the Douglas wing. Some from each division of the party became Republicans.

THE WAR.—The first gun of the civil war was fired at Fort Sumter, on the morning of April 12th, 1861, from a battery in Charleston harbor. On the 15th of April, the President called for 75,000 voluntees, and the civil war began on both sides.

The free states were warmly for the war and the repression of secession by force. The slave states, except the "border states," were as earnestly for secession. The border states were divided, the Union feeling predominating, except in Vitginia, and preventing secession. But in them disumonists were strong, and sent representatives to the Confederate Congress, and a large force of volunteers to aid the south. The Republicans in all the states formed the distinctive "war party." The Democratic generally gave support to the war, but some denounced it. There was frequent Democratic opposition to war measures in Congress and the state legislatrues, and occasional violent demonstrations against it among disaffected people.

OPPOSITION TO THE WAR.—Organized and individual efforts to encourage desertion from the army, and to protect deserters from arrest, were frequent in the west; and the

"Knights of the Golden Circle," reconstructed into the "Sons of Liberty," formed conspiracies for the release and arming of confederate prisoners for raids in the loyal states,

The worst opposition was excited by the attempts to execute the draft law. In the city of New York, in 1863, a large mob, mainly of foreign-born citizens, attacked the draft office, burned a colored orphan asylum, murdered several citizens, and set the authorities at defiance for three days. The riot was suppressed by troops.

The Habeas Corpus writ was suspended during the war, to give efficiency to the action of the government in suppressing disloyal conduct.

CURRENCY AND FINANCES .- A loan of \$250,000,000 was authorized by Congress in the summer of 1861; of this, \$50,000,000, subsequently increased to \$60,000,000, was to be used as currency. On the 25th of February, 1862, an act authorized the issue of \$150,000,000 of legal-tender notes, since known as "greenbacks." Other issues were made afterwards. The first treasury notes were made receivable for duties, and thus soon taken out of circulation, leaving the "greenbacks" the only money in the country, until the national banks were authorized in 1864; and their bills, the "greenbacks" and the fractional currency remained for fifteen years the sole currency of the country. The opposition to the establishment of the new currency came from the Democrats, and was based mainly on the lack of constitutional power in Congress to make the "greenbacks" a legal-tender. The various loans authorized by Congress were represented by bonds, bearing five and six per cent. interest; and by 7-30 treasury notes convertible into six per cent. bonds. These constitute the national debt, and the basis of the national bank system. The notes of the banks are supplied by the government, and are secured by a deposit of national bonds. In the Democratic party, a strong feeling in favor of taxing national bonds was manifested, but the terms of the loan exempted them from taxation.

THE TARLIF AND INTERNAL REVENUE.—The depressed condition of business required a revision of the tarlif early in 1851, and the duties were made specific instead of ad valorem. In the session of 1863-64 an act was passed, creating a system of 'Internal Revenue' 'to supply the necessities of the treasnry. It excited a great deal of ill will and opposition among the people, to whom a government tax was a new exaction.

EMANCIPATION.—On the 22d of September, 1862, Mr. Lincoln issued his first emancipation proclamation, liberating the slaves of all secessionists who failed to return to their allegiance by the close of the year. On the 1st of January, 1863, Mr. Lincoln performed the great act of his life, the issuing of his proclamation of emancipation for all the slaves in the country. The measure was quite unanimously supported by the Republicans, but more or less censured by the Democrats.

NEGRO SOLDIERS.—On July 17th, 1862, an act was passed by Congress authorizing the enlistment of colored troops. It was opposed by the Democrats.

FREEDJEN'S BUFFAU.—At the session of 1864-65, Congress passed an act creating the Freedmen's Burean for the protection of freedmen and fugitives, who came north nearly always destitute and helpless. It was strongly opposed by the Democrats and a few Republicant

RECONSTRUCTION.—At the meeting of Congress in 1863, the President presented a plan for readmitting the seceled states to the Union, the substance of which was that the Confederates, on taking an oath which he prescribed, should be restored to all their rights except to slaves; and that when one-tenth of the number voting at the election of 1860 should have taken the cath, and established a state government, it should be recognized by the general government. There was a great deal of opposition to the project among Republicans, and a very different measure was passed by both Houses in July, 1864, but the President withheld his signature, and the bill failed to become a law.

RE-ELECTION IN 1864.—At the Republican national convention, Baltimore, June 7th, Abraham Lincoln (III). and Andrew Johnson (Tenn.) were nominated. [See D. and Pl.] On the 29th of Angust, the Democrats nominated George B. McClellan (N. J.) and George H. Pendleton (O.). [See D. and Pl.] The contest was carried on upon issues connected with the war and the relations of parties to it. Mr. Lincoln was elected by 212 electral votes, to 21 for McClellan (N.).

ASSASSINATION OF MR. LINCOLN.—On the night of the 16th of April, 1866, Mr. Lincoln was shot in a private box at Ford's Theatre, Washington City, by John Wilkes Booth, an actor. Mr. Lincoln died the next morning, and was succeeded by the Vice-President.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

JOHNSON'S ACCESSION.—On his accession to the presidency, President Johnson expressed himself strongly in faxor of the punishment of those who had seceeded. "The American people must be taught to know that treason is a crime," he said, and his "past course must be the guaranty of his future conduct." It was generally believed that his administration would be severe on the confederate states. His views appear to have been modified soon afterward.

RECONSTRUCTION .- The President's opinion of the condition of the seceded states was, that they had never left the Union, and could not, though they had broken their relations with it. All that was necessary to rehabilitate, or "reconstruct," them, as it was called, was the recognition of the national government. The Republicans in Congress, and throughout the country, dissented from the President's views. and thought the confederate states should be held in a territorial condition till Congress was satisfied that the rights of the freedmen were safe. The Democrats supported the President. At first, the provisional government and the general tenor of the President's policy were favored by the Republicans; but a decided difference was developed within the year, and the President and the Republicans finally separated completely. On the 2d of March, 1867, a bill to reconstruct the confederate states was passed over the President's veto. It divided those states into five military districts, each to be commanded by a general, and governed by civil tribunals, when military commissions were not deemed suitable. The states were allowed representation in Congress, on the formation of a state government by "a convention of delegates, elected by all the citizens of whatever race, color, or previous condition." This measure was veluemently resisted and denounced by the Democrats. Acts to perfect this system of reconstruction were afterwards passed.

PARTY CHANGES.—A small number of Republicans adhered to the President after his separation from the party, and, with him, were brought into close connection with the Democrats.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.—The thirteenth amendment of the constitution, abelishing slavery in the United States, went into force December 18th, 1865. It was opposed by the Democrats.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.—A bill to enlarge the power of the Freedmen's Bureau was passed by Congress, and vetoed by the President, February 19th, 1866. It was strenuously opposed by the Democrats.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.—In March, 1806, a bill was passed to establish and protect the civil rights of the freedmen, making them citizens of the United States, and giving them the right to sue and be sued, to make contracts, and exercise other civil duties, and punishing by fine and imprisonment any one inter. fering. It was passed over the President's veto. The Democrats opposed the bill.

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.—To assure the civil rights of the freedmen, the fourteenth amendment of the constitution

was passed by Congress, June 18th, 1866. The Democrats opposed it, and the President sent a message that he could not approve it, but would submit it to the states. It was proclaimed in force July 28th, 1868.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—On the 7th of January, 1867, an act was passed giving the right of suffrage to the negroes in the District of Columbia and the territories. It was vigorously opposed by the Democrats.

LIMITING THE PRESIDENT'S POWER.—The antagonism between the President and the Republicans led to systematic efforts to limit his power. He was deprived of the right to proclaim general amnesty in January, 1867, though he denied the validity of the act and continued to exercise the right. The 40th and all succeeding Congresses were authorized to meet directly after adjournment, so as to keep a constant check on the President. A provision of the Army Appropriation bill nullified his command of the army, by requiring him to give orders through the General in command. In March the "Tenure-of-Office bill" was passed, providing that the President should not remove civil officers without the consent of the Senate, and making a violation of it a "high misdemeanor." He was allowed to suspend, but not remove an official; and if the Senate, at the next session, refused to concur, the official should be restored. The Democrats opposed all these acts.

REMOYAL OF SECRETARY STANTON.—The President, on the 15th of August, 1867, attempted to remove Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War. Mr. Stanton, refusing to leave, was suspended under the Tenure law, and General Grant put in his place. The next January, the Senate refused its assent, and General Grant gave up the office to Mr. Stanton. Then, on February 21st, 1898, the President determined to remove him in defance of the "Tenure act," and put General Lorenzo Thomas in the office. Mr. Stanton held firm, and notified the Speaker of the House of the President's action.

IMPEACHMENT.—The violation of the "Tenure-of-Office" act being a "high misdemeanor," the House resolved, February 24th, to impeach the President, the Democrats opposing. The articles of impeachment were mainly for violating the "Tenure-Office" act. The trial, resulting in the President's acquittal, was begun in the Senate, on the 6th of March, 1868, and continued until May 16th.

CONFEDERATE.—After the war, most of those who had belonged to the Confederacy associated themselves with the Democratic party.

ELECTION IN 1868.—The Republican national convention met in Chicago on May 20th, 1863, and nominated General U. S. Grant for President, with Schuyler Colfax, of Indians, for Vice-President. The Democrats met in New York City on July 4th, and nominated Horatic Seymour, of New York, for President, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for Vice-President, See D. and Pl.] The contest was made almost wholly upon issues growing out of the war and the reconstruction policy of Congress. General Grant and Mr. Colfax were elected by 214 electoral votes, to 80 for Seymour and Blair, counting the vote of Georgia, which was contested. Without it their vote was 71.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

RECONSTRUCTION.—The Congressional scheme of reconstruction was prosecuted during Grant's administration, with little resistance save the opposition of Democrats in Congress, and a good deal of local disturbance in the more strongly disaffected regions of the south. The ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment was made a prime condition of readmission with all the states.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.—On the 25th of February, 1860, the fifteenth amendment of the constitution, conferring the right of suffrage on all citizens, without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was passed by Congress, and ratified by twenty-nine states, the necessary three-fourths required by the constitution, and the fact reported to Congress, by the President, March 30th, 1870.

SOUTHERN TROUBLES.—The hostility of a large portion of the population of the confederate states to the constitutional amendments, especially the fourteenth and fifteenth, and to the white Republicans, who were supposed to control the negro-voters, was exhibited in many localities, in various forms of resistance to the laws, and of abuse of the obnoxious parties. Organizations calling themselves the "White League" and "Ku Klux Klun" warned many whites, of opposing political opinions, to leave the country. Condities of a serious nature, between the

factions, were of frequent occurrence. In Louisianz these troubles affected the elections, and made serious contentions as to the legal possession of the state offices. Investigating committees were sent by Congress to ascertain the causes and magnitude of the troubles, but never with any alleviating result. Troops had to be sent there, and to other states, to protect the citizens, and maintain the authority of the government.

THE ENFORCEMENT ACT (KU KLUX ACT).—To repress these cruelities, and lawless interferences with the rights of the freedmen, Congress, in April, 1871, passed an act giving to the President extraordinary powers to enforce the laws against the perpetuators. It was generally called the "Kn Klux act." It was strongly resisted by the Democrats, and by a few Republicans, as unconstitutional, and a dangerous centralization of power. The law was enforced very moderately by General Grant, and the disturbances continued, with hardly any diminution, till the Presidential election of 1876.

SAN DOMINGO.—President Grant, during his first term, made some efforts at procuring a harbor and naval station on the coast of San Domingo, and a protectorate of a portion of the island, and sent three commissioners there to look after the business. The project, being opposed by the greater portion of the Republican press and by Congress, was abandoned.

CIVI. SERVICE REFORM.—The interference of partisan influence in the appointment of subordinate officers of the government, and clerks in the departments, attracted a good deal of attention and censure during General Grant's administration, and he sought to effect a reform of some of the abuses, by appointing a commission to devise a system of competitive examinations, and by conferring appointments and promotions on those who proved competent in such examinations, and to those whose service in office entitled them to be advanced to better positions. The commission discharged list duty by preparing a plan of civil service reform, and some effort was made, for a time, to enforce it; but it met with little flavor among a large portion of the members of Congress, and gradually fell into disasse.

THE LABOR REFORM PARTY grew out of the combinations of workingmen, called "Trades' Union," which existed all over the country, and formed a body of voters of sufficient strength to command the attention of politicians. They had candidates of their own in several states, and elicited a good deal of discussion of measures for the benefit of workingmen. Congress reduced the working day from ten to eight hones, in all the national establishments. Combined with the workingmen were a good many of a communistic tendency, and the general tenor of the party's opinion was adverse to large accumulations of wealth, and in favor of reforms looking to a greater equality of condition among the people.

THE "GRANGERS," calling themselves the "PATRONS of HUBBANDEN," were probably the most important and influential order on existing political conditions. The local societies were called "granges," and the objects of the order, primarily economical and moral, were to promote the higher development of farm life and labor, to encourage co-operation among farmers for the restraint of exorbitant milroad freights, on grain, sepcially—to discourage the credit system, and borrowing on mortgage—and generally to set farmers to improving their material and moral condition. The order, at first non-partisan, became largely mixed up with politics, by designing men, and, as a consequence, its influence began to wane.

THE TEMPERANCE PARTY was organized in 1872, and consisted of a national combination of local temperance organizations, which had been in existence for many years. In 1876, it received the name of Prohibition Reform party.

THE NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PARTY.—This sprang up in the hard times following the financial crash in 1878, and held to the necessity of increasing the paper money of the government, to soften the rigor of the times, and prevent immense losses by the depreciation of values. Many contended that the paper money issued by the government should never be redeemed, but should be, as they said, "coined paper," made, by the authority of the government, good for all debts, public and private. A large portion of the "Grangers" attached themselves to this party.

THE "STRAIGHT-OUT" DEMOCRATS were a body of Democrats who were dissatisfied with the nomination of Mr. Greeley, by their party, in 1872, and held a convention at Louisville to nominate a man of their own views. They selected Charles O'Conor, of New York, for President, but accomplished nothing.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICANS were a portion of the Republican party that was dissatisfied with the administration of General Grant, and the course of the party. In Missouri (1870)

a liberal faction withdrew from the Republican party, and nominated an opposition ticket which, with Democratic aid, was successful. The Liberal movement grew into political importance in 1871, and assumed a national organization in 1872.

ELECTIONS OF 1872.—The Liberal Republicans met at Cincinnati in national convention, May 1st, 1872, adopted a platform [see D. and Pl.] and nominated Horace Greeley (N. Y.) and B. Gratz Brown (Mo.).

The Democratic party held its national convention at Baltimore, July 9th, and accepted the platform and candidates of the Liberal Republicans. The combination thus formed received the name of the Liberal Republican Democratic party.

The action of the convention at Baltimore was distasteful to some of the more conservative of the party. These, called Straight-Ont Democrats, met in convention at Louisville, Ky., September 3d, and adopted resolutions repudiating the action of the Baltimore convention. Charles O'Conor was nominated as President, and John Quincy Adams as Vice-President. O'Conor declined, but was not permitted to withdraw.

The national Republican convention assembled at Philadelphia, June 5th, and nominated U. S. Grant and Henry Wilson (Mass.).

The Labor Reform party met in convention at Columbus, O., February 21st, adopted a declaration of principles, and nominated David Davis for President and Joel Parker for Vice-President. In June these declined, in consequence of which a convention of Workingmen met at Philadelphia, August 22d, and nominated Charles O'Conor as President.

The national Temperance party selected James Black and A. H. Colquitt as candidates (Feb. 22).

The elections resulted in the success of the Republicans, and re-election of General Grant, 286 electoral votes to 66, of which 42 were given to Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, Mr. Greeley having died between the time of the popular election and that of the Electoral College.

STATE GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH.—A large portion of General Grant's second term was given to the difficulties created by the state governments, and local disturbances in the reconstructed states. At first, the freedmen, with their white allies, controlled most of the states, and their management was not always wise or honest. A growing reaction against the long ascendency of the Republicans, enabled the reconstructed confederates, and those who sympathized with them, to acquire control of the state governments, and, in 1876, their ascendency was almost complete.

FIXANCES formed a leading feature of the discussions and legislation of this term. The tendency of the policy of the government had been towards a return to specie payments, while a large section of the people, and of their congressional representatives, were anxious for an increase of paper currency. Much of the time of Congress was taken up with the subject, and it and the southern troubles, and the revenue peculations, formed the main features of the administration during this second term. Hundreds of bills touching the finances and currency were introduced in Congress, but nothing was done with any save a very few. The President inclined to the "hard money" side.

RESUNPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.—A bill providing for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, was passed and approved in 1875. It was opposed by most of the Democrats and some Republicans in Congress and in the country. Resumption was never unanimously opposed or approved by either party, though the majority of the Democrat

crats opposed it, and the majority of the Republicans supported it. Some held that the restriction of currency would make hard times and prostrate business, and others held that inflation would be far more disastrous. No harm came of it, however, and resumption was accomplished at the time fixed, and practically some months before, without any convulsion or disturbance of business.

ELECTION OF 1876.—On the 14th of June, 1876, the Republican national convention, at Cincinnati, nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention at St. Louis nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President, The "National" or "Greenback" party met at Indianapolis on the 17th of May, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The Republicans elected 173 undisputed electors, and the Democratic Processing of the President of the Presiden

ocrats 184. Florida had four votes and Louisiana eight, which were contested. The Republican returning boards had given certificates of election to the Republican electors, but the Democrats contested their validity. Very grave apprehensions were felt all over the country while this contest was unsettled, and many threats were made by intemperate partisans. Finally, on the 29th of January, 1877, Congress appointed an Electoral Commission to settle the contest. It consisted of five members of the Supreme Court, Judges Clifford, Field, Miller and Strong. who selected Judge Bradley for the fifth; five senators, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen and Morton, Republicans, and Bayard and Thurman, Democrats-Senator Thurman subsequently retired on account of illness, and was replaced by Kernan, of New York; and five representatives, Abbott, Hunton and Payne, Democrats, and Garfield and Hoar, Republicans. The Commission, by one majority, decided that the Republican certificates were valid, and that the twelve disputed electoral votes should be counted for Mr. Haves, who was thus elected.

HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.

CONCILIATION .- The most prominent feature of the opening of the administration of President Hayes was his disposition to conciliate the disaffected feeling in the south, and accomplish, by mild means, what force and repressive legislation had failed in. He appointed a former confederate officer, David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and made Carl Schurz, a leader of the Liberal Republicans in 1872, Secretary of the Interior. He, also, very early in his administration, removed the government troops from Louisiana and other states, and left the latter to themselves. During a tour of the southern states, soon afterward, he made several speeches, in which he declared his desire and purpose to bring about a better state of feeling and a more cordial union. His inaugural address indicated his desire for such a state of things, and for the reform of some of the abuses of the civil service. He had foreshadowed these views in his letter of acceptance of the nomination. Some Republicans thought he carried conciliation too far. These called themselves "stalwarts."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—An attempt was early made to revive and extend some of the regulations of the civil service reform, partially established in the previous administration. Several orders were issued and strict obedience claimed, and, by them, considerable fluttering among office holders was caused; but they were, after a time, construed into nothing of any force, and were gradually relaxed, if not abandoned.

ENFORCEMENT OF ELECTION LAWS.—The most exciting party contest of the administration grew out of Democratic efforts in defeating the law authorizing the use of United States troops to keep the peace at the polls. The employment of deputy marshals, for the same purpose, was sought to be defeated. The means resorted to were the attachment of "riders," or conditions to the military and civil appropriation

bills, requiring that the troops should not be allowed at any election in any state, and that the marshals should not interfere in the elections. The Republicans resisted the conditions, and the bill failed in 1679, making an immediate extra session necessary. The contest was not then settled, and continued into the following session in 1880.

NEGRO EXODUS.—A striking feature of the movements of 1879, was a very general negro emigration, usually called "exodus," from the lower Mississippi river states and from the Carolinas. The earlier emigrants, and the larger number, went to Kansas. Later, a considerable number went to Indiana. A committee, to investigate the character and causes of the movement, was appointed by the Senate; it ascertained that the causes were in some cases political, and in some pecuniary.

RESUMPTION.—On the 1st of January, 1878, specie payments were resumed, after about eighteen years of suspension. The certainty that resumption would take place at the appointed time, without any difficulty or derangement of business, set it in operation, practically, some months before the time. The premium on gold was very small, and many private business houses were paying specie when desired. All apprehensions and prophecies of evil proved chimerical.

REFUNDING.—By anthority of Congress, the six per cent. bonds were refunded, at different times, at five, four and a half, and four per cent. The new bonds were freely taken, and soon commanded a premium in Europe, as well as at home.

TAMMANY.—There were threatening divisions in both parties at the New York election of 1879. The Tammany Society, of New York City, which had long led the Democracy of the city, except for a few years after the exposure of Tweed's peculations, opposed Mr. Robinson, the Democratic nominee for governor, and thus defeated him.

INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS—A large number of Republicans were opposed to Senator Conkling's control of the party in that state, and refused to support the nominee for governor whom he favored, Mr. Cornell, and very nearly defeated him in spite of the help of Tammany. These were INDEFENDENT REPUBLICANS, called by the Regulars "seratchers."

NOMINATIONS, 1880.—On the 2d of June, the Republican national convention met at Chicago; James A. Garfield (D.) and Chester A. Arthur (N. Y.) were nominated for the positions of President and Vice-President. Two important features of this convention were, (1) the recognition of the right of delegates to represent the opinions of their districts irrespective of the instructions of state conventions; and (2) the overthrow of the attempts at changing: the traditional policy of the country.

which prohibits one man from serving as President more than

The national convention of the National party (Greenback) met at Chicago on the 9th of June, and selected as candidates for the two highest executive offices, James B. Weaver (Ia.) and Benjamin J. Chambers (Tex.) This ticket was acquiesced in by most of the element which constituted the Labor party.

The Prohibition national convention was held at Cleveland, Ohio, June 17th. Neal Dow (Me.), for President, was nominated by acclamation. A. H. Thompson (O.) was chosen for

Vice-President.

On the 22d of Jane the national convention of the Democratic party met at Cincinnati, Ohio. General Winfield S. Hancock (Penn.) was nominated for President on the second ballot, and William H. English (Ind.) for the position of Vice-President, was chosen without opposition. The Tammany wing of the Democratic party in New York acquiesced in the nominations. A platform consisting of twelve resolutions, was adopted by a manimons vote. [See D. and Pl.]

PLATFORMS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

1789-1799.

EXTRACT OF KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOV. 10, 1798.

Resolved, That whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are nanathoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each state acceded as a state, and is an integral parity; that this government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discertion, and not the constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

EXTRACT OF VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, DEC. 24, 1798.

Resolved. That this assembly doth emphatically and peremporily declare that it views the powers of the Federal government as resulting from the compact to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

EXTRACT OF KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOV. 14, 1799.

Resolved. That the several states who formed that instrument constitution] being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and that a nullification, by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy.

1800.

NO FEDERAL PLATFORM.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, PHILADELPHIA.

1. An inviolable preservation of the Federal constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the states, ences.

that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that which its enemies apprehended, who, therefore, became its enemies.

- Opposition to monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a transition, first, to a president and senate for life; and, secondly, to an hereditary tenure of those offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle.
- 3. Preservation to the states of the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers; and resistance, therefore, to existing movements for transferring all the powers of the states to the general government, and all of those of that government to the executive branch.
- 4. A rigorously fragal administration of the government, and the application of all the possible savings of the public revenue to the liquidation of the public debt; and resistance, therefore, to all measures looking to a multiplication of officers and salaries, merely to create partisans and to augment the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.
- 5. Reliance for internal defense solely upon the militia, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors from depredations; and opposition, therefore, to the policy of a standing army in time of peace which may oversue the public sentiment, and to a navy, which, by its own expenses, and the wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.
- 6. Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.
- Opposition to linking ourselves, by new treaties, with the quarriels of Europe, entering their fields of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.
- 8. Freedom of religion, and opposition to all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another.
- Freedom of speech and of the press; and opposition, therefore, to all violations of the constitution, to silence, by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their public agents.
- 10. Liberal naturalization laws, under which the well disposed of all nations who may desire to embark their fortunes with us and share with us the public burdens, may have that opportunity, under moderate restrictions, for the development of honest intention, and severe ones to guard against the usurpation of our flag.
- Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions and influences.

1801—1811. NO PLATFORMS.

1812.

NO REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

NO FEDERAL PLATFORM

CLINTONIAN PLATFORM, NEW YORK, AUGUST 17.

- Opposition to nominations of chief magistrates by congressional caucuses, as well because such practices are the exercise of undelegated authority, as of their repugnance to the freedom of elections.
- 2. Opposition to all customs and usages in both the executive and legislative departments which have for their object the maintenance of an official regency to prescribe tentes of political faith, the line of conduct to be deemed fidelity or recreancy to republican principles, and to perpetuate in themselves or families the offices of the Federal government.
- 3. Opposition to all efforts on the part of particular states to monopolize the principal offices of the gorernment, as well because of their certainty to destroy the harmony which ought to prevail amongst all the constituent parts of the Union, as of their leanings toward a form of oligarchy entirely at variance with the theory of republican government; and, consequently, particular opposition to continuing a citizen of Virginia in the executive office another term, unless she can show that she enjoys a corresponding monopoly of talents and patriotism, after she has been honored with the presidency for twenty out of twenty-four years of our constitutional existence, and when it is obvious that the practice has arrayed the agricultural against the commercial interests of the country.
- 4. Opposition to continuing public men for long periods in offices of delicate trust and weighty responsibility as the reward of public services, to the detriment of all or any particular interest in, or section of, the country; and, consequently, to the continuance of Mr. Madison in an office which, in view of our pending difficulties with Great Britain, requires an incumbent of greater decision, energy and efficiency.
- 5. Opposition to the lingering inadequacy of preparation for the war with Great Britain, now about to ensue, and to the measure which allows uninterrupted trade with Spain and Portugal, which, as it can not be carried on under our flag, gives to Great Britain the means of supplying her armies with provisions, of which they would otherwise be destitute, and thus affording aid and confort to our enemy.
- 6. Are ment of the existing necessity for placing the country in a condition for aggressive action for the conquest of the British American Provinces, and for the defense of our coasts and exposed frontiers; and of the propriety of such a levy of taxes as will raise the necessary funds for the emergency.
- 7. Advocacy of the election of DeWitt Clinton as the surest method of relieving the country from all the evils existing and prospective, for the reason that his great talents and inflexible

patriotism guaranty a firm and unyielding maintenance of our national sovereignty, and the protection of those commercial interests which were flagging under the weakness and imbecility of the administration.

1815

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, JANUARY 4.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the legislatures of the several states represented in this convention, to adopt all each measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizens of said states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the Congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militian or other citizens to foreible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments not authorized by the constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the said legislatures, to authorize an immediate and an enamest application to be made to the government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement whereby the said states may, separately or in concert, be empowered to assume upon themselves the defense of their territory against the enemy, and a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said states may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the balance due said states and to the future defense of the same. The amount so paid into said treasuries to be credited, and the disbursements made as aforesaid to be charged to the United States.

Resolved. That it be and hereby is recommended to the legislatures of the aforesaid states, to pass laws where it has not already been done, authorizing the governors or commanders-inchief of their militia to make detachments from the same, or to form voluntary corps, as shall be most convenient and conformable to their constitutions, and to cause the same to be well armed, equipped, and held in readiness for service, and upon request of the governor of either of the other states, to employ the whole of such detachment or corps, as well as the regular forces of the state, or such part thereof as may be required, and can be spared consistently with the safety of the state, in assisting the state making such request to repel any invasion thereof which shall be made or attempted by the public enemy.

Resolved. That the following amendments of the constitution of the United States be recommended to the states represented as aforesaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the state legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a convention chosen by the people of each state. And it is further recommended that the said states shall persevere in their efforts to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected.

First. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, and all other persons;

Second. No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted in the constitution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses;

Third. Congress shall not have power to lay an embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, in the ports or harbors thereof, for more than sixty days; Fourth. Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation or the dependencies thereof:

Fifth. Congress shall not make nor declare war, nor authorize acts of hostility against any foreign aution, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded:

Sixth. No person who shall hereafter be naturalized shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, or capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States;

Seventh. The same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time, nor shall the President be elected from the same state two terms in succession.

Resolved. That if the application of these states to the convenient of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defense of these states should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the legislatures of the several states to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston, in the state of Massachusetts, on the third Monday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

Resolved, That the Honorable George Cabot, the Honorable Channesy Goodrich, the Honorable Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be holden in Boston at any time before new delegates shall be chosen as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it.

1813-1829.

NO PLATFORMS.

1830.

ANTI-MASONIC RESOLUTION, PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention on Monday, the 26th day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both Houses of Congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, to be supported at the next election, and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of Anti-Masonry may require.

1832.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT A RATIFICATION MEETING AT WASHINGTON

CITY, MAY 11.

Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength and permanency of the republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion, is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country

1836.

LOCOFOCO PLATFORM, NEW YORK, JANUARY.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of republican government is the equal rights of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the natural right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation, because they are violations of equal rights of the people; hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or perogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the people's sovereign rights; no legislative or other anthority in the body politic can rightfully, by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men, in any case whatever, from trial by jury and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation, passed by preceding legislatures, can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors; and that they should be altered or repealed, when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

1836.

WHIG RESOLUTIONS, ALBANY, N. Y., FEBRUARY 3.

Resolved, That in support of our cause, we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the executive to obtain his influence to elect him to the presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to our free institutions.

Resolved, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and sencessful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of lackneyed politicians—a man of the school of Washington.

Resolved, That in Francis Granger we recognize one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, whose talents we admire, whose patriotism we trust, and whose principles we sanction.

1839.

ABOLITION RESOLUTION, WARSAW, N. Y., NOVEMBER 13.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen, requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

1840.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 5.

Resolved, That the Federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

Resolved, That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

- 3. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local internal improvements or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.
- 4. Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the deriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country—that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.
- 5. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.
- 6. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.
- 7. Resolved, That Congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states; and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts, by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of solvery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.
- Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.
- 9. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

Whereas, Several of the states which have nominated Martin Vanuera as a candidate for the presidency, have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for Vice-President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and whereas, some of the said states are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their republican fellow-citizens in the several states, trusting that before the election shall take place, their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the electoral college.

1843.

LIBERTY PLATFORM, BUFFALO, AUGUST 30.

- Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle true democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.
- Resolved, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon thore ord principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the general government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men, in every state where the party exists, or may exist.
- 3. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the constitution of the United States.
- 4. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slaveholding as the grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, tult it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.
- 5. Resolved, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party but a national party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party, nor a shird party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.
- 6. Resolved, That it was understood in the times of the declaration and the constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the states was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and the implied faith of the states and the nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by state authority.
- 7. Resolved, That the faith of the states and the nation thus pledged, was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the states, and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, then the only territory in the United States, and consequently the only territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress, by which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the territory of Wisconsin, and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

- 8. Resolved, That the faith of the states and nation thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the states, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the constwise Slave Traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits, by acts of Congress admitting new slave states into the Union.
- 9. Resolved, That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalicable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of ornational government, by that amendment of the constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.
- 10. Resolved, That we recognize as sound the doctrine main-tipel by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than state legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.
- 11. Resolved, That the general government has, under the constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.
- 12. Resolved, That the provision of the constitution of the United States which confers extraordinary political powers of the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave states a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, daugerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.
- 13. Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions, is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg ac, Pennsylvania be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the states, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.
- 14. Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support of the property of the property of the peculiar government, ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.
- 15. Resolved, That the practice of the general government, which prevails in the slave states, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.
- 16. Resolved, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations and laws, in dero-

gation of either, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

- 17. Resolved, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which, when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.
- 18. Resolved, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free states where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their union energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The constitution of these United States is a series of agreements, covenants or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all, and all with each; and,

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality, that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than men;" and,

Whereas, The principle of common law—that any contract, covenant, or agreement, to do an act derogatory to natural right, is viltated and annulled by its inherent immornality—has been recognized by one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that "any contract that rests upon such a basis is noted," and,

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave, does "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty - and is therefore absolutely roid. Therefore,

- 19. Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this nation and the world, that, as abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God, and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens, or public functionaries sworn to support the constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the ease of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.
- 20. Resolved, That the power given to Congress by the constitution, to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection, does not make it the duty of the government to maintain slavery by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force; when freemen unsheathe the sword it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.
- 21. Resolved, 'That to preserve the peace of the citizens, and secure the blessings of freedom, the legislature of each of the free states ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting from such state, any person sought to be thus transported, merely because subject to the slave laws of any other state; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free states by the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Pringg &s. the state of Pennsylvania.

1844

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 1.

1. Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising a well-regulated national currency: a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

1844.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 27.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, of the platform of 1840, were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

- 10. Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike juexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.
- 11. Resolved. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States.
- 12. Resolved, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union.

1848.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 22.

- Resolved, That the American democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.
- Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government

springing from and upheld by the popular will; and contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. Recolved, Therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the states, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when,in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4, of the platform of 1840, were re-affirmed.

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

Resolution 5, of the platform of 1840, was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8 and 9, of the platform of 1840, were here inserted.

- 13. Recolecd, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states as alike inexpedient in policy and renogrant to the constitution.
- 14. Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities anaply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.
- 15. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister state of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war-on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."
- 16. Resolved, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indem-

nity for the past and security for the future; but that while the radiation of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

- 17. Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their mafatering perseverance and fortitude when assalted on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exait their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.
- 18. Resolved. That the Democratic National Convention of thirty states composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which their La Fayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties. through the wisdom that shall guide their councils, on the basis of a democratic constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the states of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.
- 19. Resolved, That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality, and frateraity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution, which are bread enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it is, and the Union as it is, and capacity of this great and progressive people.
- Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.
- 21. Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulled the hopes of the democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a National Bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common tressury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the consulty from ruinous flactuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse

given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive striff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the hands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberry.

- 22. Resolved, That the confidence of the democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability, which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him advance, that at the expiration of his presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement, the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.
- 23. Resolved, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the condidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President of the United States.

1848.

WHIG PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT A RATIFICATION MEETING, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 9.

- Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their representatives, heartily ratify the nominations of General Zachary Taylor as President, and Millard Fillmore as Vice-President, of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.
- 2. Resolved, That in the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President, we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fieldity to the great example of former days, and to the principles of the constitution as administered by its founders.
- 3. Resolved, Tinat General Taylor, in saying that, had he voted in 1844, he would have voted the Whigi ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny, when Henry Clay was our candidate, and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended on success. The heart that was with us then is with us now, and we have a soldier's word of honor, and a life of public and private virtue, as the security.
- 4. Resolved, That we look on General Taylor's administration of the government as one conductive of peace, prosperity and union; of peace, because no one better knows, or has greater reason to deplore, what he has seen sadly on the field of victory, the horrors of war, and especially of a foreign and aggressive

war; of prosperity, now more than ever needed to relieve the nation from a burden of debt, and restore industry—agricultaral, manufacturing, and commercial—to its accustomed and peaceful functions and influences; of mion, because we have a candidate whose very position as a southwestern man, reared on the banks of the great stream whose tributaries, natural and artificial, embrace the whole Union, renders the protection of the interests of the whole country his first trust, and whose various duties in past life have been rendered, not on the soil, or under the flag of any state or section, but over the wide frontier, and under the broad banner of the nation.

- 5. Recolved, That standing, as the Whig party does, on the broad and firm platform of the constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred gnarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections, because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have as the exponent of our opinions, one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said—and no Whig desires any other assurance—that he will make Washington's administration the model of his own.
- 6. Resolved. That as Whigs and Americans, we are proud to acknowledge our gratitude for the great military services which, beginning at Palo Alto, and ending at Buena Vista, first awakened the American people to a just estimate of him who is now our Whig candidate. In the discharge of a painful dutyfor his march into the enemy's country was a reluctant one : in the command of regulars at one time, and volunteers at another, and of both combined; in the decisive though punctual discipline of his camp, where all respected and loved him; in the negotiation of terms for a dejected and desperate enemy; in the exigency of actual conflict when the balance was perilously doubtful-we have found him the same-brave, distinguished, and considerate, no heartless spectator of bloodshed, no trifler with human life or human happiness; and we do not know which to admire most, his heroism in withstanding the assaults of the enemy in the most hopeless fields of Buena Vista-mourning in generous sorrow over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay, or of Hardin-or in giving, in the heat of battle, terms of merciful capitulation to a vanquished foe at Monterey, and not being ashamed to avow that he did it to spare women and children, helpless infancy and more helpless age, against whom no American soldier ever wars. Such a military man, whose triumphs are neither remote nor doubtful, whose virtues these trials have tested, we are proud to make our candidate.
- 7. Resolved, That in support of this nomination, we ask our Whig friends throughout the nation to unite, to co-operate zealously, resolutely, with earnestness, in behalf of our candidate, whom calumny can not reach, and with respectful demeanor to our adversaries, whose candidates have yet to prove their claims on the gratitude of the nation.

1848.

BUFFALO PLATFORM, UTICA, JUNE 22.

Whereas, We have assembled in convention, as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political difference, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free

labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and,

Whereas, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the national party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and,

Whereas, These nominations so made, furnish the occasion, and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal government from its control.

- 1. Resolved, therefore, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.
- 2. Resolved, That slavery in the several states of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon state laws alone, which can not be repealed or modified by the Federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any state.
- 3. Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six states and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three states and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1878, manimously adopted by the states in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.
- 4. Resolved, That our fathers ordained the constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.
- 5. Resolved, That in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to interest or establish alwayry than to interest or establish alwayry than to include or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the constitution, or derived by just implication from them.
- Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or con-

tinnance of slavery wherever the government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

- 7. Resolved, That the true, and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.
- 8. Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave states, and more slave territory, our callu but final answer is, no more slave states and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.
- 9. Resolved. That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the Seante of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the states; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the territories now free, would also have opened the door to Higation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot hate, by a majority, embracing several senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.
- 10. Resolved, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free government and free territories; and not only for them, but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.
- Resolved, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore.
- 12. Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a greenedment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government, so far as the same may be practicable.
- 13. Resolved, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several states, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, to provide therefor.
- 14. Reobed, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are neally fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting theoreton, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote in various ways the interests of all the states of this Union; and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

- 15. Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal government, and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.
- 16. Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

1852.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 1.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, of the platform of 1848, were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

- 8. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the unbile debt.
- 9. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility, in all business pursuits.
- Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.
- 11. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us, ought be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition have from our statute book.
- 12. Resolved, That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with, or control, the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitonists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take inclipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

- 13. Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress, "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, can not, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.
- 14. Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.
- [Here resolutions 13 and 14, of the platform of 1848, were inserted.]
- 17. Resolved, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentacky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and imnort.
- 18. Resolved, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.
- 19. Resolved, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party, and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.
- 20. Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the old world, a high and secred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every state, and thereby the union of states, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopoles and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it is, and the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1852.

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 16.

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the in-

telligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was offected.

First. The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the states respectively and to the people.

Second. The state governments should be held secure to their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

Third. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Fairwell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground; that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our forms of government, by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

Fourth. That, as the people make and control the government, they should obey its constitution, laws and treaties as they would retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy; and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof, in time of peace, ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and on taying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes and to all portions of the country.

Sixth. The constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defense, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the states, said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character.

Seventh. The Federal and state governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, state and individual welfare.

Eighth. That the series of acts of the 32d Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evacion of the laws on the

one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other—not imparting their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union.

1852.

FREE-SOIL PLATFORM, PITTSBURG, AUGUST 11.

Having assembled in national convention as the democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in food for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men, the following declaration of principles and uneasures:

- That governments, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for erime.
- 2. That the true mission of American democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the states, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical administration.
- 3. That the Federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional power.
- 4. That the constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery, wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.
- 5. That, to the persevering and importunate demands of the very lower for more slave states, new slave territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave states, no slave territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.
- 6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

- 7. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we, therefore, deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeat.
- 8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.
- 9. That the acts of Congress, known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign state contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery; by their omission to gnarantee freedom in the free territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new states; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the state debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large territory to the same state under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the states and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional fugitive slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.
- 10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the general government from slavery, and the excretise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the states the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.
- 11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.
- 12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sox-ed trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.
- 13. That due regard for the Federal constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the general administrative policy, demand that the funds of the general government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.
- 14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several states, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.
- 15. That emigrants and exiles from the old world should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enter-

- prise in the new; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.
- 16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the datty of the American government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional governments.
- 17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.
- 18. That as by the constitution, "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of cliizens in the several states," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other states, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Conrt of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other states, tutterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the constitution faithfully observed by every state in the Union.
- 19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitrations.
- 20. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.
- 21. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.
- 22. That upon this platform, the convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commend them to the support of all freemen and all parties.

1856.

THE AMERICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 21.

 An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful revolutionary struggle, and bitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these states.

- The perpetuation of the Federal Union and constitution, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwarks of American independence.
- Americans must rule America; and to this end nativeborn citizens should be selected for all state, federal, and municipal offices of government employment, in preference to all others. Neoertheless.
- Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens.
- 5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.
- 6. The unequaled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several states, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between the clitzens of the several states, and, to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each state with the affairs of any other state.
- 7. The recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the federal constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress: Provided, always, that none but those who are citizens of the United States under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution or in the enactment of laws for said territory or state.
- An enforcement of the principles that no state or territory ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States.
- 9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.
- Opposition to any union between church and state; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test-oaths for office.
- Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.
- , The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.
- Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national

affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, fivun office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the wesker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vaciliating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

- 14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.
- '15. That each state council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees, and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.
- A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

1856.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, ${\bf JUNE} \ 6.$

Resolved, That the American democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved. That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as a great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to pulsy the will of the constituent, and which convices no impossure too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, 'That entertaining these views, the Demoratic party of this Union, through their delegates, assembled in general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert, before the American people, the declaration of principles arowed by them, when, on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

- That the Federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the deparments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.
- That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

- That the constitution does not confer authority apon the Federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local and internal improvements or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.
- 4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the common type has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and a complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence and foreign aggression.
- 5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government and gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.
- 6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the constitution, and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.
- 7. That Congress has no power to charter a mational bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the hest interests of this country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country withis the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people; and the results of the democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business unsuits.
- That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable to the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.
- 9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, nader restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyramical dominion of the Bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.
- 10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Decharation of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

And whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively Americans, and it is proper that the American democracy should clearly define its relations

thereto; and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called—

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of states having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom of matters of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the intertenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholies and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the states—

- 1. That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that all such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take inclipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerons consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any lifend of our political in-titutions.
- 2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery ngitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, can not, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.
- That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.
- 4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts these principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, north and south, to the constitution and the Union—

 Resolved, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the slavery question, upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the territories or in the District of Columbia.

- That this was the basis of the compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions, ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the territories in 1854.
- 3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principles to the organization of territories and the admission of new states, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kanasa and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of the popular institutions in the old world (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every state, and thereby the union of the states, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expression of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

- 1. Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the united States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solenn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.
- 2. Resolved, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit, of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

- 3. Resolved, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of states most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people; and that result would be secured by a timely and edificient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or long its progress by any interference with relations that may sait our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the states within whose dominions it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.
- 4. Resolved, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-coanie isthmus.
- 5. Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outliets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and of the Union at large.
- 6. Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratio principles, and, therefore, true to the great interests of the country; in the face of violent opposition, he has maintained the laws at home and vindicated the rights of American citizens athroad, and, therefore, we proclaim our unqualified admiration of his measures and policy.

1856.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kanasa as a free state, of restoring the action of the Federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles pronulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republician fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, Beetty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing alwavey in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved. That the constitution confers upon Congress several power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relies of barbarism-polygamy and slavery.

Resolved. That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been frandulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legielative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life. liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, eauction and procurement of the present national administration; and that for this high crime against the constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is onr fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved. That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved. That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations of Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved. That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security.

1856.

WHIG PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 13.

Resolved. That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the National Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce; no new platform to establish; but are content to broadly rest—where their fathers rested—upon the constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

Resolved, That we regard with the deepest interest and anxiety the present disordered condition of our national affairs a portion of the country ravaged by eith war, large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations; and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present national administration.

Resolved. That the government of the United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of wide-spread geographical sections, materially differing, not only in climate and products, but in social and domestic institutions; and that any cause that shall permanently array the different sections of the Union in political hostility and organize parties foundedonly on geographical distinctions, must inevitably prove fatal to a continuance of the National Union.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States declare, as a fundamental article of political faith, an absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties. The danger, so clearly discerned by the Father of his Country, bas now become fearfully apparent in the agitation now convulsing the nation, and must be arrested at once if we would preserve our constitution and our Union from dismemberment, and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

Resolved, That all who revere the constitution and the Union, must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present presidential campaign—one claiming only to represent sixteen northern states, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the southern states; that the success of either faction must add fael to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin.

Resolved. That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical sections nor armyed in political antagonism, but holding both in a just and equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the Union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has niteady selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well tried and faithful friend of the constitution and the Union, eminent allie for his wisdom and firmness—for his justice and moderation in our foreign relations—for his calm and pacific temperament, so well becoming the head of a great nation—for his devotion to the constitution in its true spirit—his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremery.

Resolved. That, in the present exigency of political affairs, we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the Union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the presidency will furnish the best if not the only means of restoring peace.

1860.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, MAY 9.

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore.

Resolved. That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than The Constitution OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE EN-FORCEMENT OF THE LAWS; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in national convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the states re-established, and the government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

1860.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, MAY 17.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

- That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph
- 2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, must and shall be preserved.
- 3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applianse from their political associates; and we denonce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their assendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.
- 4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of orimes.
- 5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in constraing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an anqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sas, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.
- That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal

government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

- 7. That the new dogma, that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, a twainane with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporanous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent—is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.
- 8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our daty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.
- 9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime "against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execuble traffic.
- 10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the nets of the legislatures of kanesa and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.
- 11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.
- 12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remnnerative prices, to mechanics and manufactures an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.
- 13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.
- 14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto neconded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or maturalized, both at home and abroad.

- 15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified by the obligations of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.
- 16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.
- 17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

1860

DEMOCRATIC (DOUGLAS) PLATFORM, CHARLESTON, APRIL 23, AND BALTIMORE, JUNE 18,

1. Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories:

- · 2. Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.
- Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.
- 4. Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy comnunciation between the Atlantic and Pacific states; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.
- 5. Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.
- Resolved, That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fngitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.
- 7. Resolved, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the territorial governments, the measure of restriction, what-

ever it may be, imposed by the federal constitution on the power of the territorial legislature over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Conrt of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

1860.

DEMOCRATIC (BRECKINRIDGE) PLATFORM, CHARLESTON AND BALTIMORE.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with following explanatory resolutions:

- That the government of a territory, organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle, with their property, in the territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation.
- That it is the duty of the Federal government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.
- 3. That when the settlers in a territory having an adequate population form a state constitution in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other states, and the state thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.
- 4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.
- 5. That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.
- 6. That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themtes to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

1864

RADICAL PLATFORM, CLEVELAND, MAY 31.

- 1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.
- That the constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.
- That the Rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms, and without compromise.
- That the rights of free speech, free press, and the habcas corpus be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.
- 5. That the Rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the federal constitution should be so amended as to probibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.
- That integrify and economy are demanded, at all times, in the administration of the government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.
- That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it can not be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.
- That the national policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of an anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power can not be tolerated.
- That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the fathful soldlers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and navy, for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defense of our imperiled country and of civil liberty.
- 10. That the one-term policy for the presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.
- That the constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.
- 12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious states belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.
- 13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice.

1864.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JUNE 7.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain, against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences

of political opinions, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to ald the government in quelling, by force of arms, the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors armyed against it.

Resolved. That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rehels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriofism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this Rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extipation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved. That we approve and appland the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswering fidelity to the
constitution and the principles of American liberty with which
Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of
the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the
nation, and as within the provisions of the constitution, the
neasures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation
against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially,
the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment, as
Union soldiers, of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we
have full confidence in his determination to carry these, and all
other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the
country, into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full pro-

tection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the aylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that, for this purpose, we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this, our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

1864.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, CHICAGO, AUGUST 29.

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a frame-work of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the states, both northern and southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declars, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperty of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that finmediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of all the states.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentneky, Maryland, Missourf, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the constitution; and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the states unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in states not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the dental of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of state rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who new are, and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnessly extended to the soldiery of our army and the sallors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event our our attaining power, they will receive all the care and protection, regard and kindness, that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nothly earned.

1868.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, MAY 20.

- We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy.
- 2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal was demanded by every consideration of publie safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.
- 3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a untional crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.
- It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.
- 5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

- 6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.
- 7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.
- 8. We profoundly deplore the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacheronsly to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and indicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.
- 9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other Earcpean powers, that because a man is once a subject he is niways so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisoment by any foreign power for acts dono or words spoken in this country; and, it so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.
- 10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, the were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaignand craise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotter; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.
- 11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all antions, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.
- This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.
- 13. That we highly commend the split of magnaninity and forbearance with which men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-op-rate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor for removal of the disqualifications and restrictions.

tions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty shall die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles hid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence, as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

1868

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, NEW YORK, JULY 4.

The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, particists, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government and the guarantee of the liberites of the eitzen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war or the voluntary action of the southern states in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be revived or registated, do, with the return of peace, demand—

- Immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the constitution, and of civil government to the American people.
- Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the states by their citizens.
- 3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, conomically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.
- Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.
- One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.
- 6. Economy in the administration of the government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedimen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessended, and the credit of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the state millitia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial nitrotests of the country.

- 7. Reform of abuses in the administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government; the subordination of the military to the evil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.
- 8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten states, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions, for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law. It has converted the American capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort. It has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffinge have belonged to the several states, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each state respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any state of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a

constitution.

flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the states will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of co-equal states. And that we regard the construction acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so amplied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the states and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and, on behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform, the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and bail all such, co-operating with us, as friends and betchren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

1872.

LABOR REFORM PLATFORM, COLUMBUS, FEBRUARY 21.

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men sentitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges or immunities from the government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evals resulting from unjust legislation

now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration: therefore,

Resolved. That it is the daty of the government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor, by providing a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interelangeable, at the option of the holder, for government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent, subject to future legislation by Congress.

- 2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to earlieh a few capitalists at home and abroad.
- 3. That justice demands that the burdens of government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of government bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest, is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.
- 4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.
- 5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.
- 6. That the presence in our country of Chinese labores, imported by capitalists in large numbers for servile use, is an evil entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.
- 7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all meta-lanks and day-laborers employed by or on behalf of the government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations, contracting with the state, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for national employes; and also for an amendment or the acts of incorporation for cities and towns, by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.
- That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.
- 9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore, money needed for prosceuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on nosterity.
- 10. That it is the duty of the government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall

not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

- 11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the national government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.
- 12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerons to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in favor of limiting the occupancy of the presidential chair to one term.
- 13. That we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the states together and restore the government of the people.
- 14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.
- 15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.
- 16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective; and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

1872.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM, COLUMBUS, OHIO, FEBRUARY 22.

The preamble recites that protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; and every citizen who yields obediently to the full commands of government should be protected in all enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property. That the traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a great mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure. That all political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question: Therefore, as a national convention, we adopt the following declaration of principles:

That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who hild the foundation of this government, securing at once the rights of the states severally and their inseparable union by the federal constitution, we would not merely garnisit the sepulchres of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our pledges of solemn featly to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our federal constitution. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive of ordinary objects of government, not capable of heing regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands, for its suppression, effective legal prohibition, both by state and national legislation.

That there can be no greater peril to a nation than existing party competition for the liquer vote. That any party not opposed to the traffic, experience shows will engage in this competition—will court the favor of criminal classes—will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

That, as prohibitionists, we will individually use all efforts to persuade men from the use of intoxicating liquors; and we invite all persons to assist in this movement.

That competence, honesty, and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding office.

That removals from public office for mere political differences of opinion are wrong.

That fixed and moderate salaries of public officers should take the places of fees and perquisites; and that all means should be taken to prevent corruption and encourage economy.

That the President and Vice-President should be elected directly by the people.

That we are in favor of a sound national currercy, adequate to the demands of business, and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and public safety to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

That the rates of ocean and inland postage, and railroad and telegraph lines and water transportation, should be made as low as possible by law.

That we are opposed to all discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

That the removal of the burdens imposed in the traffic in intoxicating drinks will emancipate labor, and will practically promote labor reform.

That suffrage should be granted to all persons, without regard to sex.

That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the government.

That a liberal policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration.

1872.

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, MAY 1.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

- We recognize the equality of all men hefore the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.
- We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these states, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and diffeenth amendments of the constitution.
- 3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.
- 4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will gnard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the state self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.
- 5. The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of sellish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We, therefore, regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only willd claims to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end, it is imperatively required that no President shall be candidate for re-election.
- 6. We demand a system of federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.
- The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and gnise.
- A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.
- We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic; and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.
- 10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to rail-roads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.
- 11. We hold that it is the duty of the government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendships of

peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

1872.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, BALTIMORE, JULY 9.

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government:

[Here followed the "Liberal Republican Platform"; which see above.]

1872.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 5.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its fath, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted, with grand courage, the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved their loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased, with firm hand, the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and hon-

rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail thronghout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably compromised, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect thronghout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

- 2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.
- 3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect to citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.
- The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.
- 5. Any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing; and we, therefore, favor a reform of the system, by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life termure of office.
- We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.
- 7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal; and are revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to add in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.
- 8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.
- 9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—'once a subject always a subject "having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been alandomed, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.
- The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and a way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.
- 11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a

- just share of the mutnal profits of these two great servants of civilization.
- 12. We hold that Congress and the President have only unfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violence and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellions regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.
- 13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of speede payment.
- 14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.
- 15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.
- 16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the states and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surendered by the people to either the state or national government.
- 17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.
- 18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people; and with him at our head, we start to-day upon a new march to victory.
- 19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great stuggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

1872.

DEMOCRATIC (STRAIGHT:OUT) PLATFORM, LOUISVILLE, KY., SEPT. 3.

Whereas, A frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either: therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each state voluntarily created their state, and the states voluntarily formed the Union; and each state provided by its written constitution for everything a state could do for the pretection of life, liberty, and property within it; and each state, jointly with the others, provided a federal union for foreign and inter-state relations.

Resolved, That all governmental powers, whether state or federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each state, and that they are limited to the written letter of the constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it; which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered and amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved. That we proclain to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presdents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority, under the banner inseribled with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority, purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform, and to rally to the polls and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

1875.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM, ADOPTED IN MASS MEETING, PITTSBURG, JUNE 9.

We hold:

- That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.
 - 2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.
- That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, is the true policy on the temperance question.
- The charters of all secret lodges granted by our federal and state legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths probilited by law.
- That the civil equality secured to all American citizens by articles 13th, 14th, and 15th of our amended constitution should be preserved inviolate.
- That arbitration of differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.
- That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts: therefore,

the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

- 8. That land and other monopolies should be discountenanced.
- 9. That the government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment, as soon as practicable.
- That maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.
- 11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

[Their candidates were James B. Walker, Wheaton, Illinois, for President; and Donald Kirkpatrick, Syracuse, New York, for Vice-President.]

1876.

PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM, CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY 17.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the government the doctrines of the Declaration of independence, submit, in this centennial year of the republic, for the suffrages of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures:

First. The legal prohibition in the District of Columbia, the territories, and in every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture, and traffic of all alcoholic beverages, as high crimes against society; an amendment of the national constitution, to render these prohibitory measures universal and permanent; and the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign powers, to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

Second. The abolition of class legislation, and of special privileges in the government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office, without distinction of race, religious creed, property, or sex.

Third. The appropriation of the public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage; of telegraphic communication; or milroad and water transportation and travel, to the lowest practical point, by force of laws, wisely and justyly framed, with reference, not only to the interest of capital employed, but to the hirber claims of the general good.

Fourth. The suppression, by laws, of lotteries and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

Fifth. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil; and the protection of purity, peace, and happiness of homes, by ample and efficient legislation. Sixth. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted) on that day.

Seventh. The establishment, by mandatory provisions in national and state constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

Bighth. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religions creeds, but as a text-book of purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

Ninth. The separation of the government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection allke of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

Tenth. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

Eleventh. The abolition of all barbarons modes and instruments of panishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

The election of President, Vice-President, United States Senators, and of all eivil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

Thirteenth. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guaranty to them of ample protection, and of equal rights and privileges.

Fourteenth. The separation of the money of government from all banking institutions. The national government, only, should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

Fifteenth. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices; the abolition of sinccures, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in government expenses; and a free and theorogh investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trusts.

1876.

INDEPENDENT (GREENBACK) PLATFORM, INDIANAPOLIS, IND., MAY 17.

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the

Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to farnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

First. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

Second. We believe that a United States note, issued ditived States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

Third. It is the paramount duty of the government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial.

Fourth. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent. per annum or even a lower rate

Fifth. We further protest against the sale of government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress, in taxation, an already overburdened people.

1876.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 14.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

- The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.
- 2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if med be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.
- 3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested, by those amendments, in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.
- 4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.
- 5. Under the constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointeres, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.
- 6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

- 7. The public school system of the several states is the bul-wark of the American Republic; and, with aview to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.
- 8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures, and the obligations of the public debt, must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.
- We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.
- 10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.
- 11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.
- 12. The Republican party recognizes, with approval, the substantial advances recenfly made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.
- 13. The constitution confers upon Congress sowereign power over the territories of the United States for their government; and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extinate, in the territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.
- 14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.
- 15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We, therefore, note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united south, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.
- 16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasering and applauding, in the national capital, the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with de-

liberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbedie upon the overshadowing financial questions, with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendency in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recream, and incapable

- 17. The national administration merits commendation for is homorphe work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.
- 18. We present, as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, two distinguished statesmen, of cuminent ability and character, and conspieuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Ratherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

1876.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 27.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in notional convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each state, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake, with us, this first and most pressing patriotic daty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republies; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and state, for the sake nilke of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumpturay laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behoaves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the video of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of states, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten states the rapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected states and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "inard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender noices, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people, in federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbeelity and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but, instead, has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hinderances thereto. As such hinderance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and of its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well devised, and; above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating, at no time, an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed. A system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries-set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts-restore employment to labor-and renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denonnee the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly tising, revenue. It has improverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American lahor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters sunggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue. Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—federal, state, and municipal. Our federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870—or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the federal government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers, by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and, out of more than thrice that aggregate, has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the solt

Reform is necessary to correct the emissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now, by law, denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women, imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men, held to perform servile lahor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

- 1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belongs exclusively to the several states, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain, without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.
- The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brite reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises, falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary, even more, in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators. Representatives, Cabinet officers - these, and all others in authority-are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched, or enriching friends, by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England concerned in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors-the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republican shemselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives, in reducing and curtailling the expenses of the Federal government, in cutting down salaries and extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessifies; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the cointry.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

1878.

NATIONAL PLATFORM, TOLEDO, OHIO, FEBRUARY 22.

Whereas, Throughout our entire country the value of real estate is depreciated, industry paralyzed, trade depressed, business incomes and wages reduced, unparalleled distress inflicted upon the poorer and middle ranks of our people, the land filled with fraud, embezzlement, bankruptcy, crime, suffering, pauperism, and starvation; and

Whereas, This state of things has been brought about by legislation in the interest of, and dictated by, money-lenders, bankers, and bondholders; and

Whereas, While we recognize the fact that the men in Congress connected with the old political parties have stood up man-fully for the rights of the people, and met the threats of the money power, and the ridicule of an ignorant and subsidized press, yet neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties, their policies, propose remedies for the existing evils; and

Whereas, The Independent Greenback party, and other associations more or less effective, have been unable, hitherto, to make a formidable opposition to old party organizations; and

Whereas, The limiting of the legal-tender quality of the greenbacks, the changing of currency bonds into coin bonds, the demonetization of the silver dollar, the exempting of bonds from taxation, the contraction of the circulating medium, the proposed forced resumption of specie payments, and the prodigal waste of the public lands, were crimes against the people; and, as far as possible, the results of these criminal acts must be counteracted by judicious legislation:

Therefore, We assemble in national convention and make a declaration of our principles, and invite all patriotic citizens to unite in an effort to secure financial reform and industrial emancipation. The organization shall be known as the "National Party," and under this name we will perfect, without delay, national, state, and local associations, to secure the election to office of such men only as will pledge themselves to do all in their power to establish these principles:

First. It is the exclusive function of the general government to coin and event money and regulate its value. All bank issues designed to circulate as money should be suppressed. The circulating medium, whether of metal or paper, shall be issued by the government, and made a full legal-tender for all de-list, duties, and taxes in the United States, at its stamped value.

Second. There shall be no privileged class of creditors, Official salaries, pensions, bonds, and all other debts and obligations, public and private, shall be discharged in the legal-tender money of the United States, strictly according to the stipulations of the laws under which they were contracted.

Third. The coinage of silver shall be placed on the same fcoting as that of gold.

Fourth. Congress shall provide said money adequate to the full employment of labor, the equitable distribution of its products, and the requirements of business, fixing a minimum amount per capita of the population as near as may be, and otherwise regulating its value by wise and equitable provisions of law, so that the rate of interest will secure to labor its just reward.

Fifth. It is inconsistent with the genius of popular government that any species of private property should be exempt from bearing its proper share of the public burdens. Government bonds and money should be taxed precisely as other property, and a graduated income tax should be levied for the support of the government and the payment of its debts.

Sixth. Public lands are the common property of the whole people, and should not be sold to speculators nor granted to

railroads or other corporations, but should be donated to actual settlers, in limited quantities.

Screath. The government should, by general enactments, encourage the development of our agricultural, mineral, mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial resources, to the enthat labor may be fully and profitably employed; but no monopolies should be legalized.

Eighth. All useless offices should be abolished, the most rigid economy favored in every branch of the public service, and severe punishment inflicted upon public officers who betray the trusts reposed in them.

Ninth. As educated labor has devised means for multiplying production by inventions and discoveries, and as their use requires the exercise of mind as well as body, such legislation should be had that the number of hours of daily toil will be reduced, giving to the working classes more leisure for mental improvement and their several enjoyments, and saving them from premature decay and death.

Tenth. The adoption of an American monetary system, as proposed berein, will harmonize all differences in regard to tariff and federal taxation, reduce and equalize the cost of transportation by land and water, distribute equitably the joint earnings of capital and labor, secure to the producers of wealth the results of their labor and skill, and muster out of service the vast army of idlers, who, under the existing system, grow rich upon the earnings of others, that every man and woman may, by their own efforts, secure a competency, so that overgrown fortunes and extreme poverty will be seldom found within the limits of our republic.

Eleventh. Both national and state governments should establish bureaus of labor and industrial statistics, clothed with the power of gathering and publishing the same.

Twelfth. That the contract system of employing labor in our prisons and reformatory institutions works great injustice to our mechanics and artisans, and should be prohibited.

Thirteenth. The importation of servile labor into the United States from China is a problem of the most serious importance, and we recommend legislation looking to its suppression.

Fourteenth. We believe in the supremacy of law over and above all perishable material, and in the necessity of a party of united people that will rise above old party lines and prejudices. We will not affiliate in any degree with any of the old parties, but, in all cases and localities, will organize anew, as united National men—nominate for office and official positions only such persons as are clearly believers in and identified with this our scered cause; and, irrespective of creed, color, place of birth, or past condition of political or other servitude, vote only for men who entirely abandon old party lines and organizations.

1879.

NATIONAL LIBERAL PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 14.

 Total separation of Church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibitions of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all measures necessary to the same general end.

- National protection for national citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States constitution and afforded through the United States courts.
- 3. Universal education, the basis of universal suffrage in this secular Republic, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States constitution, requiring every state to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

1880.

INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

- I. Independent Republicans adhere to the republican principles of national supremacy, sound finance, and civil service reform, expressed in the Republican platform of 1876, in the letter of acceptance of President Hayes, and in his message of 1879; and they seek the realization of those principles in practical laws and their efficient administration. This requires,
- The continuance on the statute-book of laws protecting the rights of voters at national elections. But national supremacy affords no pretext for interference with the local rights of communities; and the development of the south from its present defective civilization can be secured only under constitutional methods, such as those of President Hayes.
- 2. The passage of laws which shall deprive greenbacks of their legal-tender quality, as a first step toward their ultimate withdrawal and cancellation, and shall maintain all coins made legal tender at such weight and fineness as will enable them to be used without discount in the commercial transactions of the world.
- 3. The repeal of the acts which limit the terms of office of certain government officials to four years; the repeal of the tenure-of-office acts, which limit the power of the executive to remove for cause; the establishment of a permanent civil service commission, or equivalent measures, to ascertain, by open competition, and certify to the President or other appointing power the fitness of applicants for nomination or appointment to all non-political offices.
- II. Independent Republicans believe that local issues should be independent of party. The words Republican and Democrat should have no weight in determining whether a school or city shall be administered on business principles by capable men. With a view to this, legislation is asked which shall prescribe for the voting for local and for state officers upon separate ballots.
- att. Independent Republicans assert that a political party is a co-peration of voters to secure the practical enactment into legislation of political convictions set forth as its platform. Every voter accepting that platform is a member of that party any representative of that party opposing the principles or

evailing the promises of its platform forfeits the support of its voters. No voter should be held by the action or nonimation of any cancus or convention of his party against his private judgment. It is his duty to vote against bud measures and untit men, as the only means of obtaining good ones; and if his party no longer represents its professed principles in its practical workings, it is his duty to vote against the

IV. Independent Republicans seek good nominations through participation in the primaries and through the defeat of bad nominees; they will labor for the defeat of any local Republican candidate, and, in co-operation with those holding like views elsewhere, for the defeat of any general Republican candidate whom they do not deem fit.

1880.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 2.

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the union of the states with freedom, instead of slavery, as its connerstence. It transformed four millions of human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamons work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent to the par of gold. It has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time; and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accuraing interest on the public debt, and disbursed, annually, over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,600,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record, the Republican party asks for the continconfidence and support of the people; and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the priaciples and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

- 1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fraitis of the costly victories which we have achieved, through immense difficulties, should be preserved; that the peace regained should be chreished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted, undiminished, to future generation; that the order established and the credit acquired should hever be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted; and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.
- 2. The constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederate states it made a covereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to states; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the state tribunals.
- 3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several states; and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the average genius of all.
- 4. The constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion; but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each state, to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.
- 5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin harbarity—polygamy—must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American abrich must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease. That the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lagse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.
- 6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

- 7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to select him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as ohief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.
- 8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable last for office and patronage. That to obtain possession of the national and state governments, and the control of place and position, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully-elected members of Congress, to secure, at all hazards, the vote of a majority of the states in the House of Representatives: have endeavored to occupy, by force and fraud, the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. Equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws, and protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The danger of a solid south can only be averted by the faithful performance of every promise which the nation made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established throughout the south. Whatever promises the nation makes, the nation must perform; and the nation can not with safety relegate this duty to the states. The solid south must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the hallot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the states of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time, to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.
- 9. The Republican party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

1880.

NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PLATFORM, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 9.

The civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and, hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are-deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare-

First. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Second. That the bonds of the United States should not be orterated, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal-lender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

Third. That labor should be so protected by national and authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in each

Fourth. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese ser's necessarily tends to brutalize and degrand American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty. Fifth. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

Sixth. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Secenth. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigautic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

Eighth. That the constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest-consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

Ninth. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

Tenth. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

Eleventh. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

Twelfth. We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

Thirteenth. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir ap sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrons crimes against the people.

Fourteenth. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of government, wield unwarmatable power over our institutions and over life and property.

1880.

PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM, CLEVELAND, OHIO. JUNE 17.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized, in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independ-

ence, submit, for the suffrage of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures:

In the examination and discussion of the temperance question, it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed, or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity, and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart and corrunting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing, in the children of many who drink, a predisposition to intemperance, insanity, and various bodily and mental diseases, causing diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, lickleness of purpose, and premature old age, and inducing, in all future generations, deterioration of moral and physical character. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable foe of man as an individual.

First. The legalized importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks ministers to their use, and teaches the erroncous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above mentioned evils.

Second. To the home it is an enemy—proving itself to be a disturber and destroyer of its peace, prosperity, and happiness; taking from it the earnings of the husband; depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing, and education; bringing into it profanity, abuse, and violence; setting at manght the vows of the marriage altar; breaking up the family and sundering the children from the parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation of good government, national prosperity, and welfare.

Third. To the community it is equally an enemy—producing vice, demornization, and wickedness; its places of sale being resorts of gaming, lewdness, and debauchery, and the hidingplace of those who prey upon society; counteracting the efficacy of religious effort, and of all means of intellectnat elevation, moral purity, social happiness, and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits; being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

Fourth. To the state it is equally an enemy-legislative inquiries, judicial investigations, and official reports of all penal. reformatory, and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime, and pauperism, and of demands upon public and private charity, imposing the larger part of taxation, paralyzing thrift, industry, manufactures, and commercial life, which, but for it, would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of streets and highways; filling prisons and poor-houses; corrupting politics, legislation, and the execution of the laws; shortening lives; diminishing health, industry, and productive power in manufactures and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and is contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of the fundamental maxim of our common law, to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

Fifth. It is neither right nor politic for the state to afford legal protection to any traffic or any system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy

the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual home, community, and state, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be probibited.

Sizzh. In this time of profound peace at home and abroad, the entire separation of the general government from the drinktraffic, and its prolibition in the District of Columbia, territories, and in all places and ways over which, under the constitution, Congress has control and power, is a political issue of the first importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life, or property, until secured by national or state constitutional provisions, enforced by a dequate laws.

Seventh. All legitimate industries require deliverance from the taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them; and financial or other legislation could not accomplish so much to increase production and cause a demand for labor, and, as a result, for the comforts of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

Eighth. The administration of the government and the execution of the laws are through political parties; and we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for twenty years, as being false to duty, as false to loudly-proclaimed principles of equal justice to all and special favors to none, and of protection to the weak and dependent, insensible to the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon industry, trade, commerce, and the social happiness of the people; that 5,652 distilleries, 3,830 breweries, and 175,266 places for the sale of these poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste to the nation of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and the sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, have, under its legislation, grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; that during its history, six territories have been organized and five states been admitted into the Union, with constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided, nor even the people given, at the time of admission, power to forbid it in any one of them. Its history further shows, that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory law been passed by any state that was controlled by it, while in four states, so governed, the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed. At its national convention in 1872, it declared, as part of its party faith, that "it disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government," which, the author of this plank says, was adopted by the platform committee with the full and implicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance, prohibitory, and Sunday laws.

Ninth. We arraign, also, the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of an opposition party during twenty years past, strong in numbers and organization, it has allied itself with liquor-traffickers, and become, in all the states of the Union, their special political denders, and in its national convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink, by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National party has been dumb on this question.

Tenth. Drink-traffickers, having the history and experience of all ages, climes, and conditions of men, declaring their business destructive of all good—finding no support in the Bible, morals, or reason—appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and intrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia become butting forces, protecting this evil.

Eleventh. In view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system, under the authority of our national and state governments. We also demand, as a right, that women, having the privileges of citizens in other respects, be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for the proper settlement of the fluor question.

Twetyth. To remove the apprehension of some who allege that a loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the direct trade, we confidently point to the experience of governments abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from the consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

Thirteenth. We recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a nation; and, asking for His spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we all look for it, relying upon His omnipotent arm.

1880.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 22.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:

First. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctries and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

Second. Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerons spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of the church and state for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

Third. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper, convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national; and a tariff for revenue only; the subordination of the military to the civil power; and a general and thorough reform of the civil service. Fourth. The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights; and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

Fifth. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only; and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the elections, and the unprecedented use of the veto maintain its occurpt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions. We execute the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime; and demand a reform, by statute, which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to brike his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

Sizth. The great fraud of 1876-7, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two stares, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in the firm and patriotic helief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a nation of freemen.

Serenth. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Demortals of the United States with deep sensibility; and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of the public movality, and adoraing and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

Eighth. Free ships, and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

Ninth. Amendments of the Burlingame treaty; no more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and, therein, carefully guarded.

 ${\it Tenth.}$ Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

Eleventh. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the commons and the commune.

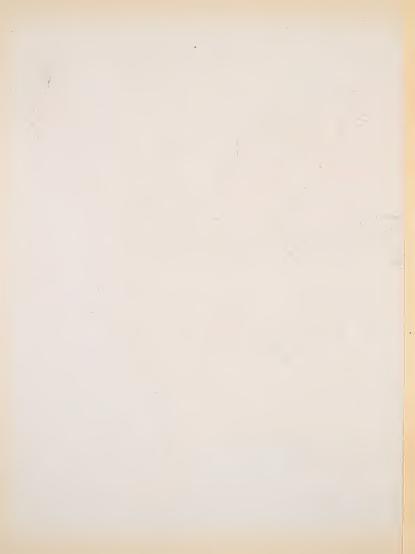
The 4/th. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at house and the national honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

LIST OF GOVERNORS.

ALABAMA.	William T. Minor	Herschel V. Johnson 1858	Robert P. Letcher 1849	Joseph Kent
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Henry W. Collier 1849 John A. Winston 1850 Andrew B. Moore 1850	Joshua Clayton 1788 Guaning Bedford 1798 Guaning Bedford 1796 Janiel Rugers 1797 Richard Bassett 1788 James Sykes [uclug] 1891 David Hull 1802 Kathaniel Mitchell 1805 George Truett 1808 Joseph Huslett 1811 Daniel Rodney 1814 John Clarke 1817 John Clarke 1818 John	John Reynolds1830	James B. McCreary1875	Thomas W. Ligon1854
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John G. Shorter. 1861 Thomas H. Watts. 1868	Richard Recent 1798	Thomas Ford	LOUISIANA.	A. W. Bradford. 1862 Thomas Swann. 1866
Lewis E. Parsons	James Sykes [acting]1801	Augustus C. French1846	William C. C. Claiborne1804 William C. C. Claiborne1812	1848 1848 1848 William P. White 1872 J. B. Groom 1875 John Lee Carroll 1876 William T. Hamilton 1880
Robert M. Pattoo. 1860 William H. Smith. 1860	David Hall	Joel A. Matteson 1853	William C. C. Claiborne 1812	J. B. Groom 1875
R. B. Lindsay	George Truett	William H. Bissell 1857 John Wood [acting] 1869 Richard Ystes 1861 Richard J. Oglesby 1865	Jaquez Villere	John Lee Carroll1876
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ARKANSAS.	John Collins1821	John L. Beveridga1874	Jacques Dupre [acting] 1830	Samuel Adams
James Miller1819	Caleb Rodney [acting]1822	S. M. Cullom1877	Andre B. Roman	Increase Sumner
John Pone 1826	Samuel Paynter	INDIANA.	Andre B Roman 1838	Calch Strong 1808
George Izard 1825 John Pope 1829 William S. Fulton 1835	George Poindoxter 1827	William H. Harrison 1800	Tacunas B. Robertson 1.832 H. S. Thibodeaux [ucting] 1822 Heory Johnson 1834 Heory Johnson 1838 A. Bauvats [acting] 1839 A. Bauvats [acting] 1839 Andre B. Roman 1839 Edward D. White 1834 Andre B. Roman 1838 Alexander Botton 1841	James Spllivan1807
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John S. Roane 1848 Elias N. Conway 1852 Henry M. Rector 1866 Isaac Murphy 1864 Powell Chyton 1869 O. A. Hadley (co. officio 1872 Harris Flannegan 1878 E. Baxtor 1873 A. H. Garland 1875 Wm. R. Miller 1877	Joseph Maul Incting 1846	James B. Ray1825	Paul O. Hebert 1854 R. C. Wickliffe 1856 Thomas O. Moore 1860 G. F. Shepley 1862 Michael Hahn 1864	John Brooks 1818
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Harris Flannegan 1878	William Burton	Joseph A. Wright1849	H. C. Warmouth 1868	Edward Everett 1836
E. Baxter	William Cannon	Joseph A. Wright. 1849 Ashbel P. Willard. 1857 Abram A. Hammond 1860	J. F. McEnery	Marcus Morton1848
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CALIFORNIA.	James Ponder 1871 John P. Cochran 1875 J. W. Hall 1879		F. T. Nicholls 1877 Louis A. Wiltz 1880	George N. Briggs 1844
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Peter II. Burnett	FLORIDA. William P. Duval. 1882 John H. Estoo. 1834 Richard K. Call. 1830 Robert R. Reid. 1830 Robert R. Reid. 1830 William D. Moscley 1846 William D. Moscley 1846 Thomas Brown. 1849 James E. Broome. 1830	James D. Williams. 1877 10WA Robert Lucea. 1828 John Chambers. 1844 James Glork. 1846 Acael Britgs. 1846 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 K. A.N.S.A.S.		Henry J. Gerdiner ISS3
Peter II. Burnett	FLORIDA. William P. Draula. 1829 John H. Baton 1834 Richard K. Gul. 1838 Robert R. Reid 1839 John Brauch 1840 William D. Moseley 1845 Thomas Brown 1850 John Milton 1891 John Milton 1891 Harrison Ree 1890 S. F. Bay 1871 M. L. Stearna 1872 George F. Dew 1877 M. L. Stearna 1872 George F. Dew 1877	James D. Williams. 1877 10WA Robert Lucea. 1828 John Chambers. 1844 James Glork. 1846 Acael Britgs. 1846 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 K. A.N.S.A.S.	MAINE William Eing. 1689 Albion K. Petria. 1822 Enoch Lincolo. 1827 Jonathan G. Huston. 1830 Robert P. Dunlap. 1834 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John W. Dana. 1847 John Hollman. 1847 Annon P. Morrill. 1853 Samuel Welln. 1856 Joseph H. Williams. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857	Henry J. Gerdiner ISS3
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1522 John II. Paton. 1523 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John Brauch. 1524 John Brauch. 1524 John Brauch. 1525 John Brau	James D. Williams. 1877 10WA Robert Lucea. 1828 John Chambers. 1844 James Glork. 1846 Acael Britgs. 1846 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 K. A.N.S.A.S.	MAINE William Eing. 1689 Albion K. Petria. 1822 Enoch Lincolo. 1827 Jonathan G. Huston. 1830 Robert P. Dunlap. 1834 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John W. Dana. 1847 John Hollman. 1847 Annon P. Morrill. 1853 Samuel Welln. 1856 Joseph H. Williams. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857	Henry J. Gerdiner ISS3
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. S22 John II. S240 John II. S240 S24 John II. S240 S24 John II. S240 S25 John II. S240 S25 John II. S240 S25 John II. S240 S25 John III. S25 John III. S25 John III. S25 John III. S26 John II	James D. Williams. 1877 10WA Robert Lucea. 1828 John Chambers. 1844 James Glork. 1846 Acael Britgs. 1846 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 K. A.N.S.A.S.	MAINE William Eing. 1689 Albion K. Petria. 1822 Enoch Lincolo. 1827 Jonathan G. Huston. 1830 Robert P. Dunlap. 1834 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1838 Edward Kent. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John Fahricht. 1841 John W. Dana. 1847 John Hollman. 1847 Annon P. Morrill. 1853 Samuel Welln. 1856 Joseph H. Williams. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857 Los M. Morrill. 1857	Henry J. Gerdiner ISS3
Potent I. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1522 John II. Paton. 1523 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John II. Paton. 1524 John Brauch. 1524 John Brauch. 1524 John Brauch. 1524 John Brauch. 1525 John Brauch. 1526 John Brauch. 1527 John Millon. 1528 John Mill	James D. Williams. 1877 10WA Robert Lucea. 1828 John Chambers. 1844 James Glork. 1846 Acael Britgs. 1846 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 Stephen Heupstead. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 William M. Stephen 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 J. H. Gear. 1850 K. A.N.S.A.S.	William Eng. 1620	Henry 1, Gerdiner ISS3
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. Se2 John II. Set Se2 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Se3 Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John III. Se5 Joh	James D. Williams 1877 Robert Lucus 1838 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Aurel Britgs 1840 Stephen Hengascad 1850 Stephen Hengascad 1850 Robert Land 1850 William M. Stone 1854 Robert Land 1850 William M. Stone 1854 Land 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 John W. Genry 1850 R. J. Walker 1857 John W. Genry 1850 R. J. Walker 1857 Frederick P. Stanton 1858	MAINE William K. 1889 Albion K. Parri	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. Se2 John II. Set Se2 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Se3 Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John III. Se5 Joh	James D. Williams 1877 Robert Lucus 1838 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Aurel Britgs 1840 Stephen Hengascad 1850 Stephen Hengascad 1850 Robert Land 1850 William M. Stone 1854 Robert Land 1850 William M. Stone 1854 Land 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 J. H. Gear 1850 John W. Genry 1850 R. J. Walker 1857 John W. Genry 1850 R. J. Walker 1857 Frederick P. Stanton 1858	William Eng. 1620	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. Se2 John II. Set Se2 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Se3 Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John III. Se5 Joh	James D. Williams 1877 WA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Annel Britggs 1840 Stephen Hengascad 1850 John Williams 1851 John Williams 1851 John Wedenry 1850 John W. Genry 1850 John W. Genry 1850 L. Walker 1877 Frederick P. Stanton 1851 Frederick P. Stanton 1858 A. E. Austrelle, 1855 John W. Genry 1850 S. J. Crewford 1855 John W. Stanton 1858 S. J. Crewford 1855 John W. Stanton 1858 John W. Stanton 1858 John W. Stanton 1855 Joh	William Eng. 1620	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. Se2 John II. Set Se2 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Set Se3 John II. Se3 Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se3 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John II. Se4 John III. Se5 Joh	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Lineas 1838 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 John Chambers 1841 John Chamb	MAINE William Eine. 1829 Albiou K. Petria. 1822 Ecoch Lincolo. 1827 Jonathan G. Hontolo. 1820 Albiou K. Petria. 1822 Ecoch Lincolo. 1820 Jonathan G. Hontolo. 1820 Bellevia L. 1820 Edward Kent. 1828 Edward Kent. 1841 John W. Jonan. 1841 John W. Dann. 1841 John W. Dann. 1847 Joseph H. Willium 1857 Joseph H. Willium 1857 Joseph H. Willium 1858 Sanned Cong. 1862 Sanned Cong. 1862 Sanned Cong. 1852 Sidney Perham. 1870 Nelson Dingkey, J. 1874 A. Garcelon. 1879 Danniel P. Davis. 1879 Danniel P. Davis. 1879 Danniel P. Davis. 1879 Danniel P. Davis. 1879	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 Mehr Luces 1888 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Ansel Britgs 1840 Stephen Hengascad 1850 Samuel J. Kirkwood 1870 J. H. Gener 1857 J. H. Gener 1857 J. H. Gener 1857 Wilson Shumon 1855 John W. Genry 1850 L. W. Walker 1877 Frederick P. Shratton 1851 Frederick P. Shratton 1851 Anniel Robinson 1851 Anniel Robinson 1851 Anniel Robinson 1853 Anniel M. Stephen M. 1855 Anniel M. Stephen M. 1855 Anniel M. 1855 Anniel M. 1855 Anniel M. 1855 Anniel M. 1855 George Anthony 1877 J. P. St. John 1877	MAINE	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Lineus 1888 John Chambers 1881 John Chambers 1884 Kaph P. Lowe 1885 Samuel J. Kirkwood 1885 Samuel J. Kirkwood 1885 Samuel Merriil 1888 Cyrus C. Charpetter 1872 J. H. Gear 1875 K.A.NSA.S. A. H. Reeder 1875 Wilson Shuanon 1885 Wilson Shuanon 1885 U. W. Dienver 1877 J. V. Dienver 1877 J. V. Dienver 1878 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1888 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1870 James M. Hurvey 1870 J. P. Johnson 1877 J. J	MAINE	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Lineus 1888 John Chambers 1881 John Chambers 1884 Kaph P. Lowe 1885 Samuel J. Kirkwood 1885 Samuel J. Kirkwood 1885 Samuel Merriil 1888 Cyrus C. Charpetter 1872 J. H. Gear 1875 K.A.NSA.S. A. H. Reeder 1875 Wilson Shuanon 1885 Wilson Shuanon 1885 U. W. Dienver 1877 J. V. Dienver 1877 J. V. Dienver 1878 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1887 J. W. Dienver 1888 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1890 James M. Hurvey 1870 James M. Hurvey 1870 J. P. Johnson 1877 J. J	MAINE 1809 Albien K. Paris 1809 Albien K. Paris 1802 Encoch Lincoln 1827 Jouathan G. Heniston 1810 Albien K. Paris 1811	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Potent II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Annel Britggs 1840 Stephen Hengpacad 1850 John W. Genry 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 George Aotheny 1871 J. P. St. John K. ENTUCK Y. James Shelby 1790	WALNE Sept	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Peter II. Burnett	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Annel Britggs 1840 Stephen Hengpacad 1850 John W. Genry 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 George Aotheny 1871 J. P. St. John K. ENTUCK Y. James Shelby 1790	WALNE Sept	Henry J. Gardaer IS35
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 10WA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 John Chambers 1844 Annel Britggs 1840 Stephen Hengpacad 1850 John W. Genry 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 James M. Hirrey 1850 George Aotheny 1871 J. P. St. John K. ENTUCK Y. James Shelby 1790	William King 1809	Henry J. Gardaer S53
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1829 250	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William King 1809	Henry J. Gardaer S53
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1829 250	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William King 1809	Henry J. Gardaer S53
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1829 250	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William King 1809	Henry J. Gardaer S53
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1829 250	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William King 1809	Henry J. Gardaer S53
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1829 250	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William Ering 1809	Henry I. Gardaer 1853
Peter II. Burnett.	FLORIDA. 1820 John II. Stoot State	James D. Williams 1877 GNA. Robert Luces 1888 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1841 John Chambers 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 Junes W. Grimes 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. H. Gear 1840 J. W. John Chambers 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 J. W. Devere Land 1840 Thomas Curney 1841 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James M. Hally 1840 James Gorge Adulton 1871 J. P. J.	William Ering 1809	Henry J. Gardaer 1835

1	LIST OF GOVERNORS. 71						
ı	MISSISSIPPI.	Ralph Metcalf	Thomas Brown 1835	Philip After. W. B. Lawrence [acting] 1852 Philip After. Philip After. Philip After. St.	1		
Н	Winthrop Surgent 1798	Ralph Metcalf 1855 William Haile 1857 Ichabod Goodwin 1859	Thomas Brings 1855 John W. Ellis 1859 Z. B. Vance 1861 W. W. Holden 1865 Januthon Worth 1967	W. B. Lawrence [acting] 1852	E. J. Davis 1869 R. Coke 1874 R. B. Hubbard 1876 O. M. Roberts 1879		
-	W. C. C. Claiborne 1863 Robert Williams 1863	N. S. Berry 1861		Philip Allen	R. B. Hubbard1876		
- E	W. C. C. Claihorne 18b; Robert Williams 180; David Holmes 180; David Holmes 1817	Change Conserved Conserv	W. W. Holden 1865	William W. Hoppin 1854	O. M. HOBERS1879		
1	George Poindexter1813	Walter Harriman 1867	Jonathan Worth 1865 W. W. Holden 1868 T. R. Caldwell 1872 C. H. Brogden 1875 Z. B. Vance 1877 Thomas J. Jarvis 1879	Thomas G. Turser. 1859	VERMONT.		
H	George Poindexter 1815 Walter Leake 1821 David Holmes 1825	Watter Harrimaa 1867 Onslow Stearns 1809 Jumes A. Weston 1871 Ezekiel Straw 1872 Jumes A. Weston 1874 P. D. Cheney 1875 B. J. Prescott 1877 Nat. Head 1879	Z. B. Vance	J. R. Bartlett facting 1 1860	Musea Robinson 1789 Thomas Chittenden 1790 Thomas Chittenden 1790 Lanac Tichenor 1707 Israel Smith 1807 Israel Smith 1807 Israel Smith 1808 Israel Tichenor 1808 Israel Tichenor 1808 Israel Tichenor 1809 I		
	Gerard C. Brandon 1827	James A. Weston 1879	Thomas J. Jarvis1879	W. C. Cozzens [acting] 1863	Isaac Tichenor 1707		
	Hiram G. Runnels	P. D. Cheney	OHIO.	Ambrose E. Burnside 1866	Israel Smith		
1	Gerard C. Brandon. 1823 Abraham M. Scott. 1833 Hirau G. Kunnels. 1853 Hirau G. Kunnels. 1853 T. M. Tucker 1847 T. M. Tucker 1847 T. M. Tucker 1847 Joseph M. Hutture 1857 John J. Gulom [acting] 1855 James Whitfield 1853 Henry S. Foote 1852 William Mc Willie 1855 John J. Gulom [acting] 1855 James Whitfield 1853 James Whitfield 1853 James Whitfield 1853 James Whitfield 1853 James John J. Gulom [acting] 1855 James Whitfield 1853 James John J. Pettre 1852 John J. Pettres 1852	Nat. Head 1879	Arthur St. Clair. 1788 Edward 'Hiffin . 1808 Edward 'Hiffin . 1808 Thomas Kirker [acting] . 1807 Samuel Houtington . 1808 O. Locker [acting] . 1814 Thomas Worthington . 1814 Ethan A. Brown . 1818 Allen Trimble [acting] . 1823 Juncan McArthur . 1829 Juncan McArthur . 1829 Juncan McArthur . 1839 Hobert Lincas . 1832	Seth Padelford 1869 Heery Howard 1878 Henry Lippitt 1875 C. C. Vau Zaadt 1877	Joens Galusha		
Ш	T. M. Tucker	NEW JERSEY.	Edward Tiffin	Henry Lippitt 1875	Jones Galusha		
Ш	Joseph W. Matthews 1848	William Livingston 1789	Samuel Huntington 1808	C. C. Van Zasat1877	Richard Skiener 1820		
	John J. Quitman	William Patterson 1794	Return J. Meigs 1810	SOUTH CAROLINA.	Ezra Butler 1826		
ı	James Whitfield 1851	William Putterson 1294 Richard Howell 1794 Joseph Bloomfield 1801	Thomas Worthington 1814	Charles Pinckney	William A. Palmer 1831		
Ш	John J. MacRae 1854	Aaron Ogden 1813 William S. Pennington 1813	Allen Trimble [acting] 1818	William Moultrie	Charles Paine 1835		
1	William McWillie 1858	Mahlon Dickerson 1815 L. H. Williamson 1817 Peter D. Vroom 1820 Samuel L. Southard 1832	Allen Trimble	Charles Pinckuey	John Muttoeks		
П	Jacob Thompson 1862	Peter D. Vroom 1820	Duncan McArthur 1830	John Drayton [acting] 1800	Horace Eaton 1846		
Н	Charles Clarke. 1864 William L. Sharkev 1865	Samuel L. Southard 1832		Paul Hamilton 1802	Carles Coolidge		
	William L. Sharkey 1865	Elias P. Seeley	Wilson Shannou 1838	Charles Pinckney. 1800	Erastus Fairbanks 1852		
П	R. C. Powers 1872	Philemon Dickerson 1836 Wm. Pennington 1837	Wilson Shannon 1842	Henry Muddleton 1810	Stephen Royce		
	Adelbert Ames 1874 J. M. Stone 1878	Daniel Haines	Mordecai Bartley [acting]1844	David R. Williams 1812	Ryland Fletcher 1856 Hiland Hall		
Ш		Daniel Haines	William Bebb	Andrew Pickens	Erastus Fairbanks 1860		
1	MISSOURI.	Fallemon Dickerson 1896	Wilson Shanoou 1838	G. C. Vaz Zuadt. 1877 SVIH CAROLINA. Charlee Finckney. 1730 Charlee Finckney. 1730 William Moditine. 1744 Charlee Finckney. 1740 Charles Finckney. 1740 Charles Finckney. 1740 John Drayton (acting). 1940 John Drayton. 1840 John Taylor. 1850 John Taylor. 1850 John Taylor. 1850 S. Dies Humilton. 1851 John Taylor. 1852 George McDelfin. 1854 George McDelfin. 1854 George McDelfin. 1854 John Taylor. 1858 John Hamman. 1858 John H. Menna. 1854 John M. Menna. 1858 John H. J. Menna. 1858 John	John G. Smith. 1863		
Ш	Alexande McNair 1820 Frederick Itales 1894	William A. Newell 1857	William Medill	R. J. Manning 1824	Paul Dillingham 1865		
1	Frederick Betrs 1824 John Miller 1826 Daniel Denklin 1832	Joel Parker	William Dentison1860	John Taylor	J. W. Stewart 1870		
Ш	L. W. Boggs	Marcus L. Ward1860	John Brough	James Hamilton	Asahol Peck 1874		
Ш	Daine Denkin 1836 Thomas Reynolds 1840 John C. Edwards 1844 Austin A. King 1848 Thomas Reynolds 1844 Reynolds 1844 Reynolds 1845 Reynolds 1845 Reynolds 1846 Reynolds 18	Charles S. Orden 1860 Joel Parker 1863 Marcus L. Ward 1860 T. F. Randolph 1860 Joel Parker 1872 J. D. Bedle 1875	William Demison . 1890 David Todd. 1862 John Brough . 1894 John Brough . 1894 Jacob D. Cox . 1890 Jacob D. Cox . 1890 B. B. Huyes . 1898 E. F. Noyes . 1872 B. B. Huge . 1874 T. L. Young [acting] . 1877 C. M. Bishop . 1872 Charles Foster . 1880	Robert Y. Hayno 1832	N. Stewart 1870		
1	Austin A. King	J. D. Bedle	R. B. Hayes	Pierce M. Betler 1836	N. 1 roctor		
ш	Sterling Price 1853		William Allen. 1872	B. K. Hennegan [acting] 1840	VIRGINIA.		
Ш	H. Jackson [seting] 1807	NEW YORK.	R. B. Hayes	J. P. Richardson 1848	Beverly Randolph 1788		
ı	C. F. Jackson	George Clinton 1789	R. M. Bishop. 1878	William Aiken 1844	Robert Brooke 1794		
ш	Thomas C. Fletcher 1864	John Jay 1795 George Clinton 1801	Churies Poster1880	W. B. Seabrook 1848	James Monroe 1799		
1	18	Morgan Lewis 1804	OREGON.	John H. Means	James Mouroe 1799 John Page 1802 William II. Cabell 1805 John Tyler 1808 James Monroe 1811 Capter W Swith 1811		
Ш	S. Woodson1873	John Tayler [acting] 1810	James Shields1848	James H. Adams. 1854	John Tyler 1808		
П	C. H. Hardin	Joseph C. Yutes 1822	James Shielda . 1848 Joseph Laue . 1848 John P Gaines . 1850 Joseph Laue . 1853 John W Davis . 1853 John W Mitaker . 1859 Addisser C Gliss . 1892 Addisser C Gliss . 1892 Latiquete S, Greer . 1870 S, F Clhadwick . 1874 W, W, Thayer . 1878	William H. Gist 1858	George W. Smith 1811		
L	NEDDAGKA	Joseph C. Yates 1:29 DeWitt Clinton 1834 Nathaniel Pitcher [acting] 1827 Murtia Van Buren 1829 Eaos T. Throop 1829 William L. Marcy 1833 William H. Seward 1839 William C. Bouck 1843 Silas Wright 1845	Joseph Laue	F. W. Pickens 1860	George W. Smith 1811 James Barbour 1812 Wilson C. Nicholas 1814		
ш	NEBRASKA.	Murtia Van Buren 1829	George L. Curry 1853	A. G. Magrath 1862	Wilson C. Nicholas. 1844 Jannes P. Preston. 1810 Thirmas M. Raudolph. 1819 Janues Pleasont. 1822 John Tyler. 1825 John Tyler. 1825 John Holyd. 1830 L. W. Tuzewell. 1834 W. Robertson [acting]. 1834 W. Robertson [acting]. 1837 Thomas W. Gilme. 1849 John Rutherford. 1841		
	Francis Burt	William L. Marcy 1833	John Whitaker 1859	A. G. Magrath 1864 B. F. Perry 1865 James L. Orr 1865	Thomas M. Randolph 1819 James Pleasent		
	Francis Burt 1854 Mart W. Izard 1854 William A. Richardson 1858 Samuel W. Black 1860 Alvin Saunders 1863 David Buller 1860	William H. Seward1839 William C. Bonek 1842	George L. Woods 1866	Robert K. Scott. 1868 F. J. Moses, Jr. 1873 D. H. Chamberhin, 1875 Wade Hampton 1976	John Tyler1825		
Ш	Alvin Saunders	Wilmam C. Bouck 1843 Silas Wright 1845 John Young 1847 Hamilton Fish 1849 Washington Hunt 1851	S. F. Chadwick 1874	D. II. Chamberlain. 1875	John Floyd 1830		
	Danid Butter 1000	Hamilton Fish 1849	W. W. Thayer 1878	Wade Hampton 1876 W. D. Simpson 1878	W. Robertson facting 1		
	W. H. James		PENNSYLVANIA.		David Cumpbell1887		
1	David Butler 1897 W. H. James 1872 R. W. Fernas 1873 Silas Garber 1875 Albinus Nance 1879	Myron H. Clark 1855	Thomas Miffin	TENNESSEE.	John Rutherford 1841		
1		Edwin D. Morgan 1850	Thomas McKean 1700	John Sevier	James McDowell 1843		
	NEVADA.	Horatio Seymour 1853 Myron H. Clark 1855 Jobn A. King 1857 Jobn A. King 1857 Edwin D. Morgan 1859 Horatio Seymour, 1863 Réunen E. Fenton 1863	Thomas McKean 1700 Simon Snyder 1808 William Findlay 1817	Archibald Roane 1861 John Sevier 1803 William Blount 1809	Thomas W. Gillmer 1840 John Rutherford 1841 John M. Gregory 1842 John M. Gregory 1842 William Smith 1940 John B. Floyd 1940 John B. John 1940 John M. John 1940 John M. John 1940 John M. John 1940 John M. John 1940		
1	James W. Nye	John T. Hoffman 1869	Joseph Heister 1820	Joseph McMin 1809	Joseph Johnson 1852		
1	James A. Weston 1871	Reusen E. Fenton 1865 John T. Hoffman 1869 John A. Dix 1873 S. J. Tilden 1875 Lucius Robinson 1877 Alonzo B. Cornell 1880	George Wolf. 1829	William Carroll 1821 Samuel Houston 1827	John Letcher		
	Louis R. Bradley	Alonzo B. Cornell 1877	David R. Porter 1835	William Carroll 1820	Francis H. Pierpont 1864		
			William Findiay 1817 Joseph Heister 1820 John A Shulze 1823 George Wolf 1829 Joseph Rimer 1835 David R. Porter 1839 Francis R. Shumk 1845 William F. Johnston 1848 William F. Johnston 1848 William F. Johnston 1848	William Blount. 1820 Joseph McMills Blo Joseph McMills Blo Joseph McMills Blo Joseph McMills Blo William Carroli 1820 William Carroli 1820 Newton Cannon 1835 James K. Polk 1835 James K. Polk 1835 James K. Polk 1836 James K. Joseph 1837 William Trousdale 1840 William B. Campbell 1851 Andrew Johnson 1852 Jadrew Johnson 1852	Gilbert C. Walker. 1871		
	NEW HAMPSHIRE.		William Bigler	Auron V. Brown 1841	F. W. M. Holliday		
1	Josiah Bartlett	Alexander Martin	James Pollock 1855 William F. Packer 1858	Neil S. Brown 1847	WEST VIRGINIA.		
1	ohn Langdon	Richard D. Spaight 1792 Samuel Ashe 1795 William R. Davie 1798	Addrew G. Curtin 1861 John W. Geary 1867 John F. Hartenaft 1873	William B. Campbell 1840	Arther J. Boreman 1863		
1 3	ohn Langdon 1810	William R. Davie	John F. Hartenft 1873	Andrew Johnson 1853	William E. Stevenson 1860		
	William Plumer	James Turner 1802 Nathaniel Alexander 1805	H. M. Hoyt 1879	Andrew Johnson	William E. Stevenson 1860 John J. Jacob 1871 Henry M. Matthews 1877		
Š		Benjamin Williams1807	RHODE ISLAND	DeWitt C Senter 1870			
I	smuci Bell	David Stone	Arthur Former	J. C. Brown 1871 James D. Porter 1873 A. S. Marks 1879	WISCONSIN.		
I	David L. Morrill	William Hawkins 1811	Henry Smith [acting] 1805	A. S. Marks	Henry Dodge 1836		
j	ohn Bell	David Stone. 1808 Benjamin Smith. 1810 William Hawkins 1811 William Miller 1814 John Branch. 1817 Jesse Franklin 1800	Isaac Wilhur [acting]1806 James Fenner 1807	TEVAC	N. P. Tallmadge		
J	M. Harner [acting] 1830	Jesse Franklin	William Jones1811	I EAAS.	Nelson Dewey		
8	amuel Dinsmoor	Hutchings G. Burton 1824	William C. Gibbs	J. P. Henderson	Villiam A. Barstow 1832		
I	snac Hill	James Iredell 1827	James Fenner	P. H. Bell	Coles Bashford 1855		
J	ohn Page	Montfort Stokes	John B. Francis 1833	H. G. Runnels 1857	dward Solomon		
J	ohn H. Steele 1844	Richard D. Spaight 1832	Samuel W. King 1838 1	Samuel Houston	ames T. Lewis 1863 noies Fairchild 1866		
J	ared W. Williams 1846	John M. Morehead 1841	James Feoner. 1843	F. R. Lubbock	C. Washburn 1872		
S	omuel Dinsmoor	David Stones	Syron Diman 1846	A. J. Hamilton	I. Luddington		
Ñ	B. Baker 1854	David S. Reid	I. B. Anthony 1849 I	S. M. Peuse	V. E. Smith 1878 V. E. Smith 1880		
_							





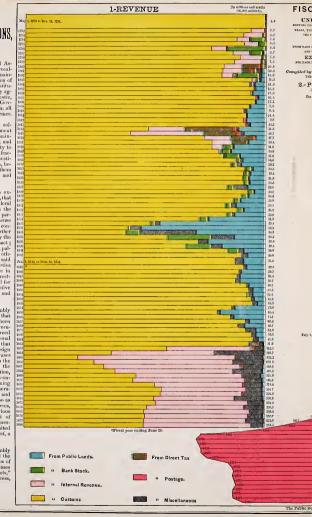


VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.

December 24, 1798.

Resolved, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of this States and the constitution of this State against every aggression, either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the Government of the United States in all measures waranted by the former.

- 2. That this Assembly most solcamly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and that, for this end, it is their dity to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.
- 3. That this Assembly dolt axplicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are particupally as the second of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further salting that compact, as not further salting that compact, as not further and that, in case of a delilerate, palpable, and dangeous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in drift bound, to increpose for arrest cherto have their high substitution of the right of the respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.
- 4. That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sondry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the States, by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be to transform the pres-ent republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best, a mixed monarchy.
- 5. That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the "alien and sedition acts," passed at the last session of Congress,



the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and which, by uniting

legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the gen-

those of oxecutive, subverts the gen-eral principles of free government, as well as the particular organiza-tion and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other

of which acts exercises, in like man-

ner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto—

a power which, more than any other,

ought to produce universal alarm, because it is leveled against the

right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free

communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly

deemed the only effectual guardian

6. That this State, having by its

convention which ratified the Feder-

al Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights,

that, among other essential rights, "the liberty of conscience and the press can not be canceled, abridged, restrained, or modified, by any authority of the United States," and

from its extreme anxiety to guard

these rights from every possible at-

tack of sophistry and ambition, hav-

ing, with other States, recommended

an amendment for that purpose.

which amendment was, in due time.

annexed to the Constitution - it

would mark a reproachful inconsist-

ency, and criminal degeneracy if an

indifference were now shown to the

most palpable violation of one of the

rights thus declared and secured and

to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

7. That the good people of this Commonwealth, having ever felt, and

continuing to feel, the most sincere

affection for their brethren of the

other States, the truest anxiety for

establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupu-

lous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friend-ship and the instrument of mutual

happiness, the General Assembly doth

solemply appeal to the like disposi-tions in the other States, in confi-

dence that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, as it

does hereby declare, that the arts

aforesaid are unconstitutional, and

that the necessary and proper meas-

ures will be taken by each for cooperating with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the

States respectively, or to the people.

8. That the Governor be desired

of every other right.

VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS

December 24, 1798.

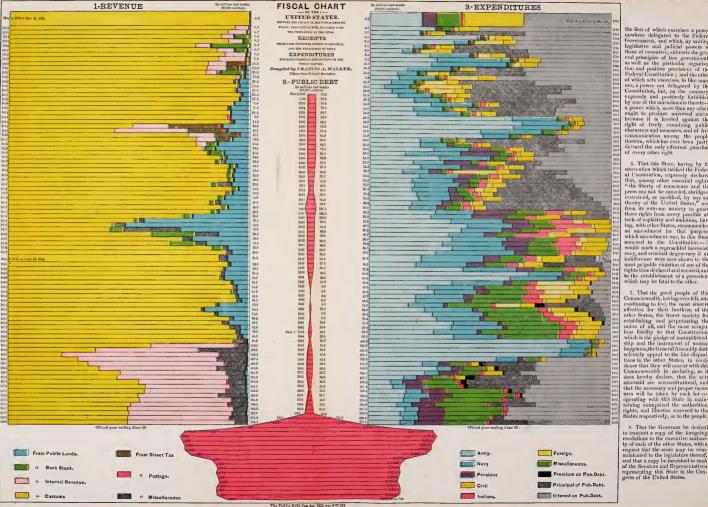
Resolved, That the General As sembly of Virginia doth unconivocal ly express a firm resolution to main-tain and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of this State against every aggression, either foreign or domestic and that they will support the Govmeasures warranted by the former

2. That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and that, for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraetion of those principles which consti-tute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

3. That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that t views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid thus they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact ; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

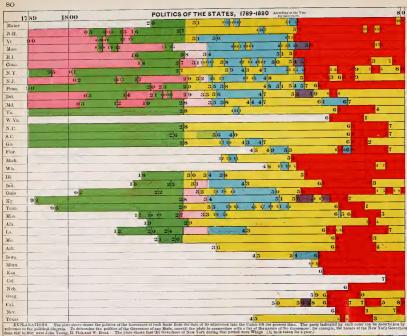
4. That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the States, by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best, a mixed monarchy.

5. That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the "alien and sedition acts," passed at the last session of Congress.









*20,256 † 4,527 † 4,539 RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE PARTIES According to the Vate for State Officials Compiled from the Latest Election Return

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS.

November 10, 1798.

1. Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government; but that, by compact, under the United States and of Amendments thereto. Onted States and of Amendments inereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that Gov-ernment certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force: That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party: That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; siece that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its power; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions, as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Coogress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current cole of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amend-ments to the Constitution having also declared, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are re served to the States respectively or to the people;" therefore, also the same act of Congress, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, and estitled. "An act in addition to the act entitled, 'an act for the punish-ment of certain crimes against the United States,' as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, entitled, 'An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States," (and all other their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution,) are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right apper-tains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

Nev

 That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people;" and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were re-served, to the States or to the people: That thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which can not be separated

POLITICS OF THE STATES 1789-1876, ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENTIAL FOTES.

NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES TO WHICH EACH STATE HAS BEEN ENTERLED AT EACH ELECTION, 1789-1876



from their use should be tolerated rather than the use be destroyed; and thus, also, they guarded all abridgment by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And that, in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall roake no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," thereby guarding in the same sen-tence, and under the same words, the freedom of religiou, of speech, and of the press, insomuch that whatever violates either throws down the sanetuary which covers throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falseheods, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals: That therefore the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled. " An act in addition to the act for the punishment of cortain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

4. That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true, as a general principle, and one of the amend-ments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the 22d day of June, 1798 artisled "An act accompanying lines." 1798, entitled, "An act concerning alicos, which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

5. That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision in-serted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Coogress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the mi-That gration of alien friends described as the subject of the said act concerning alieus that a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their mi-gration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

6. That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Common wealth, on his failure to obey the



simple order of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act, entitled, "An act concerning their," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without the process of law," and that another lawing provided, "that in all criminal prosesuations the secured the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witcesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of coursel for his defense," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without public trial, without controlation of the witnesses, against him, without public trial, without controlation of the witnesses, against him, without public trial, without conseals, is contrary to these previsions also of the Constitution, in therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force. That transfering the power of judging any person, who is under the pretection of undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the at ticle of the Constitution, which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during god behavior?" and that the analot of for that reason also; and it is further to be noted, that this ransder of judiciary power is to that magnitude and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

7. That the construction applied by the General Goivernment (as is verinced by annoty of their proceedings) to these parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegates to Congress a power to by and collect taxes, dudies, imposts, and excises; it pay the debts, and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States, and to make all have which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into excession of the contract of th

8. That the preceding resolutions he transmitted to the Senators and Representativea in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective houses, and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

9. Leatily. That the Governor of this Commonwealth be, and is herely, authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth coosiders union for specified national purposes, and persistently for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, languages, and peoperly of all the States; that faithful to that compact, see parties, and the property of the secret people o

eral Government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes, and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge, and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States, being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the assente common or one man, and one barries of the Constitution and the power of a majority of Congress to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the legislatures, judges, governors and counselors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views, or marked by the suspicions of the Presat, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already has a sedition act marked bim as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against republican governments, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion, were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Censtitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the Government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the Government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice bave conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the constitution. That this Commonwalth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for for an expression of their sentiments on the acus concerning areas, and to the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration th against the Consection as to amount to an unargument extration matrixe compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the General Government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States, and consolidating them in the hands of the General Government with a power assumed to bind the States, (not merely in cases made Federal,) but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made, not with their consent, but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

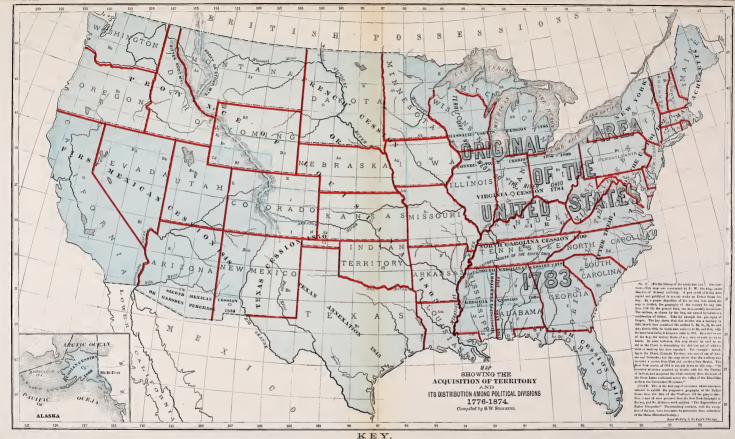




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Indian Country-1834, -Ter. of Mo.+Af, Ag, Ah, Al, N; 1837, -same.-Aw; 1838, -same as proceeding-Ar Ag, Ah, Al, N; 1848, -same as proceeding-V, Bu, Bl, Bl, Bu, Ax.

Ionea-T,, 1858, -Af, Ag, Ah, Al, N; 1848, -Ag, Al, N; 1846, -Ab, Al, N; S., 1845, -Af, Ah; 1846,

15. X. Verbracher, T., 1864, A.A., K., O., Be, Bd, P. Ay; 1865, — Ax. Be, Re, Bf; 1860, — Ax. S., 1967, — Ax. Werbracher, T., 1864, — Ax. S., 1967, — Ax. S., 1967, — Ax. De, Re, Bf; 1860, — Bx. Be, 1967, — Bx. Be, 1967,

From Fig. 341, $a_1^2 = 10^{-1}$, $a_2^2 = 10^{-1}$, $a_3^2 = 10^{-1}$

EXPLANATIONS.

-- Minns

S .- State. Un.-Unorganized. +.- Pins. The other letters refer to map No. 17.

P .- Province.









INAUGURALS. 1801 PRESIDENT STATE R.SMITH DEPARTMENT SECRETARY OF TREASURY TREASURY OS.CORWIN ALEXANDER HAMILTON OLIVER WOLCOTT GALLATIN DEPARTMENT SECRETARY OF WAR M. CONRAD FRING JAS. MCHENRY DEARBORN DEPARTMENT SECRETARY OF NAVY ROBERT SMITH "J. CROWNINSHIELD "PAUL HAMILTON A. GRAHAM NAVY DEPARTMENT POST OFFICE POSTMASTER CEN. HALL SAM, OSGOOD "TIMOTHY PICKERING" JOSEPH HABERSHAM GIDEON ATTORNEY GENERAL , CRITTENDEN JUSTICE EDM. RANDOLPH WM BRADEORD CHARLES LEE TOURS LLINCOLN BENETH BRECKENBIDGE CAESAR A RODNEY WM PINE DEPARTMENT SECRETARY OF INTERIOR EX.STUART INTERIOR DEPARTMENT INTO SUPREME CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN JAY LEDGE CUSHING O.ELLSWORTH JOH J O H SI-57,8ENJ.R.CURTIS INFERIOR ASSOCIATE JUDGES 04-34,WM.JOHNSON 07-26,THOS.TODD 06-23,BROCKT LIVINGSTON VICE-PRESIDENT ADAMS KING Act. IW.R.KIND JOHN THS.JEFFERSON AARON BURR CEORCE SPEAKER OF HOUSE AUHLENBURGH "TRUMBULL" MUHLENBURGH "JONATHAN DAYTON" SEDGWICK J. B. VARNUM LINN NATHANIEL MACON " H. C.L. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. 1789-First Congress. Ten Amendments to the Consti-1797-Privateering against 1801-War against Tripoli declared. 1809-Proclamation forbidhe French Embas. The Inferior Courts are Circuit Courts, District Courts, The Federal Government is the central authority of the The Inferior Courts are Circuit Court, District Courts, Let Court of Cambaia, Local Courts in the District of Countain, the Court of Cambaia, the Court of Cambaia, and the Court of Cambaia, as the led in jointain district, and the Court of Chains, at The Executive Department executes the laws, and court of the President, slidel by the heads of departments with a country of the President, slidel by the heads of departments with the Cambaia Cambaia of the President, slidely the heads of departments with the Cambaia Cambaia of the President, slidely the heads of departments with the Cambaia Cambaia of the President, slidely the heads of departments with the Cambaia Cambaia of the Cambaia Cambaia of the Cambaia Cambaia of the Cambaia Ca tution passed. Departments of Government organ-United States. It was organized in 1789, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal constitution. This instrument profriendly Nations for Britain and France. dismissed from ized. Washington appoints a National Thanksgiving. 1802-Naturalization Laws made more liberal. Repreington. bidden. vides for a legislative, a judicial, and an executive department. First Revenue Tariff approved. Ratio of Represen-The Legislative Department consists of Congress, which 1811-Ratio of Representa sentatives, 141. tation, 30,000; Members, 65. Many Treaties with the The Legislative Department coasses of Congress, which is a body of mor representing the people and acting in this control in the control of t Webster's great 1798-Congress authorizes 1812-Congress lays an Ei for the Union 1803-Congress gives the President extraordinary author Naval Warfare with General Land Office esred 1790-Naturalization Law passed. Treason defined and Fugitive ity to maintain Free Navigation of the Mississippi. can call an extra seesion whenever circumstances domand it. A Congress is add to exist two years, because the larger number of those who compose that hody are elected for that time. ["To determine the years covered by a given Congress, double the num-her of the Congress and add the product to 1739; the result will be the year in which the Congress closed. To find the number departments constitute the cabinet, a name given to the body of men whom the President appoints as his executive officers and Penalty determined. First Census. Patent Law and France; Commercial cases of impressment Law and Omnibus first Copyright Law approved. System of Finance Intercourse with France the 18th June. Secretary of State,-The State Department was organized cussed. Treaty Secretary of State.—The State Department was organized in 1783, and placed under the direction of the Secretary of State. In 1783, and placed under the direction of the Secretary of State. basinose without the austrance of separate tureaus. Secretary of Trensury.—The Trensury Department was Trensury, who has charge of the automal floances. Secretary of Farr.—The We department was created to Secretary of Farr.—The We department was created to secretaries of the sational floances. adopted : Government assumes State Debts : Public 1806-Congress forbids the importation of certain goods. suspended; Navy Dety and Commerce Debt funded. of a Congress sitting in any given year, subtract 1789 from the Disputes with England and France respecting Neutral 1813-Congress authoriz partment organized. vitzerland. Treaty year; if the resolt is an even number, half that number will give the Congress, of which the year in question will be the cleeing year. If the result is an old number, add one to it, and half the result will give the Congress, of which the year in question will be the first year."—Am. Almanes.] Congress coacts laws, and censits of the Seonate and the Rouse of Repre-sentatives. These bodies, when acting in a legislative capacity, have the same duties and powers. Laws are passed by the conloan of \$16,000,000. 1791 -First United States Bank chartered; Capital, Ingland securing aded by British ships. \$10,000,000. First Tax on Distilled Spirits. 1799-Congress votes to ut over Panama 1807-United States Coast Survey authorized. Conspirraise an Army of 40,000 1792-Apportionment Bill passed, fixing ratio of Repre tiee, constituted Wainignou's calanct. The Secretary of War has charge of alfair connected with the army. Has charge of alfair connected with the army. As organized the Secretary of Narup—The Mary Department were in charge of the Secretary of War; but over the department above created, an officer was placed, called the Secretary of the Nary, who exams immediately a sember of the achieve. This official security of the secretary of the Nary, who exams immediately a sember of the achieve. This official Narup of the Secretary of the Nary, who expanded according to a section in the constitution. Its chief officer, the Puttmater General, did not become a cabipet officer in March 261, 1629. He as bearing of affairs achieved the constitution. acy of Aaron Burr to divide the Union. English sentation at 33,000: 103 Members in Congress. A 1814-A loan of \$25,000.0 Cheap Postage current action of both houses. The Septette is composed of two members from each state, choices for six years up the legislatures thereof. Over this body the Vice President presides. Without the concurrence of the House, the Scente side as a high court to try cases of imposed ment; authorizes the President to make treates; and rejects uniform system of Militia established. Post Office acted ships of war ordered to leave American waters. Department organized anew. 1815-A loan of \$18,400,0 1800-Treaty of Peace authorized. Governmentitio of Represenwith France. General or confirms the President's nominations to office, 1793-A Fugitive Law passed. Proclamation of Neu-President proclaims Pifixed at 93,423; The House of Representatives is composed of members token for two years by the people. The number of presentations for two years by the people of the number of presentation of the people of the calcular power of originating fills for raising revenues and previding for trais by impactation. The the meaning of the laws, and consists of the Supreme Court and Inferior Court. The Supreme Court the highest raising the training in the shadow of the country of the supreme Court and Inferior Court. The supreme Court the supreme Court and Inferior Court. The supreme Court is the supreme Court and Inferior Court. The supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supreme Court in the supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supreme Court in the supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supreme Court in the supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supreme Court in the supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supreme Court in the supreme Court is the supreme Court in the supr The House of Representatives is composed of members trality relating to France: French Minister Genet Law of Bankruptcy apment ceases to pay trins, 237. Dispute recalled by request of Government. joy throughout the lan ingland in regard connected with the mell. Attorney General.—The Department of Justice was created in 1789, and its chief official, the Attorney General, was made a member of the Cabinet. This officer is head of the proved. 1794-Regulation of Slave Trade. A sixty days Emobserved. made a member of the Cablact. This officer is head of the department, and his day is to processed and exclude all suits and to give his advice and opinion upon questions of law, when captured by the heads of department perpartment or the lastes of department perpartment or the lates of comparing the period by the heads of department perpartment of the Interior was created in 180, at which time his chief official, the Secretary the Interior, was admitted to a sent in the cablact. This though telephone the contract of the bargo as a retaliation on British "Order in Council." 1816-First Protective T 1795 -Second Naturalization Law passed. Commercial States Bank charteres Treaty with Great Britain. Treaty of Madrid. \$35,000,000. Coloniza

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1796-Washington's Farewell Address. Contest between

the President and Honse over the British Treaty.

reports, extending to more than seventy-nins volumes, are highly valued in fereign countries, especially in cases where the laws of the nations and of the sea are involved.

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ding all intercourse with Great tion fixed at 35,000. ubargo on American shipping- tablished. More than 6,000 coorded. War declared on a nissue of \$5,000,000 and a Entire American coast block- New England opposes the Do authorized. 1819—Congress ratifies the Treaty for the Cession Florida. Beginning of the discussion on bale between the North and the South in regard to Slavery Question. 1820—Missouri Compromise passed. Navigation restricting importation to United States vessels. Co try agitated over the Slavery Question. 1822—Ratio of Representation fixed at 40,000; Memb 213. Commercial treaty with France. 1823—Independence of South American Republics knowledged. Treaty with Great Britain for me suppression of the Slave Traffic. The "Monroe I trine" advanced. 1824—John Quiney Adams elected by the Ho Second Protective Tariff. Lafayette arrives in France.	en less. B226—Extensive Internal Improvements. The Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence. Death of Adams and Jefferson. 1828—Tariff amended and Duties increased. 1878, accurate the construction of	1839—Webster's great Speech against Nullification. Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Brazil. 1830—Treaty with Turkey, securing for the United States freedom of the Black Sea. 1832—Treaty of Commerce with Russia. Treaty of Commerce and Boundary with Mexico. Bill for Rechartering United States Bank vetoed. Proclamation against Nullifiers. Resignation of John C. Calhoun. Representatives, 240. 1833—Public deposits removed from the United States Bank by the President, and distributed among certain. State Banks. Secretary of Treasury, W. J. Duane, refusing to carry out the policy, is removed. 1834—France and Portugal, slow in paying for injuries done United States commerce, are brought to terms by the President. 1836—Office of Commissioner of Patents created. Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Venezuela. Charter for United States Bank expires.		1841—Imprisonment for Debts due the United States abolished. Central Bankrupt Law passed. A Loan of \$12,000,000 authorized. Sub-Treasury Act repealed. Revenues received from Public Lands ordered to be distributed among the States. Two Bills for Rechartering the United States Bank vetoed. All members of the Cabinet, except Mr. Webster, resign. Failure of United States Bank under Pennsylvania Charter. 1842—Senate ratifies the Ash burton Webster Treaty. Ratio of Representatives, 523. United States fiscal year ordered to begin with July 1st. 1843—\$30,000 appropriated for the construction of Morse's Electric Tel-	after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November fixed by Congress on which to hold Presidential Elections. Treaty made with China. Speech of Mr. Cass produces great excitement concerning Northwestern Boundary of Oregon. 46—\$10,000,000 voted, and \$50,000 men called out, to carry on the War. The Wilmot Proviso. Tariff on Imports reduced. Treaty settling Northwestern Bonndary Member 1852—Re fation Member 1	ie French Embas- dismissed from ngton. Webster's great for the Union ed. Fugitive aw and Omnibus scussed. Treaty by and Commerce viterland. Treaty England securing it over Panaman. Cheap Postage acted. 185 Actio of Represenfixed at 93,423; rs, 237. Dispute ngland in regard

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1856—133 ballots req to elect Nathanic Banks Speaker o House. Mr. Broo South Carolina ass Senator Sumner i Senate Chamber. ish Envoy order leave Washington.



